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/For information on inter-personal relationships between various Sarakatsani kindreds, see category 612./

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# PREFACE

I THINK it is useful and necessary to explain at once the particular point of view from which I describe in this study the life of a community of Greek Sarakatsan shepherds. I begin with an analysis, in some detail, of kinship institutions and the structure of the family, which emphasizes how an individual's moral obligations are concentrated almost exclusively within family and kindred at the expense of his relations with people outside that relatively limited circle. Families not connected by kinship or marriage are related through institutions of mutual hostility and competition; and unrelated persons view one another at all times with intense distrust. A system of social values based on concepts of honour, strength, and pride is associated with these institutions and attitudes, and together they guide the conduct of Sarakatsani in the apparent anarchy of their communal life. Inevitably these institutions and values severely limit the possible forms of economic and civic co-operation. Further, they considerably affect the character of the relations between this community of mutually opposed family commonwealths and the rest of Greek society. Given a centralized administration, and parliamentary government with a universal franchise, an implication of the internal structure of the community is that these relations tend to take certain forms of political and social patronage. Honour, Family, and Patronage represent a pattern of interrelated institutions and values.

In this book I have attempted to abstract for the purposes of analysis a particular complex of institutions and values which are not peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Very similar formal elements are critical for the study of society anywhere in the Greek provinces, and even, in many respects, in the cities. Moreover, the social forms which are described here have many interesting parallels in other parts of the Mediterranean world, and it is principally as a contribution to the study of social structures in this area that I offer my study.

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In its physical aspect as a complex of flocks, grazing lands, huts, and sheep-folds it was referred to as a stani (στάνη), or when the speaker was more concerned with the relations of dependence and co-operation between the tselingas and his followers, as the 'tselingato' (τὸ τσελιγκᾶτο); 50–150 men, women and children were the approximate human limits of the traditional stani. Although the co-operating families paid at the end of each period of six months for a share of the grazing land in proportion to the size of their flocks, the power of the tselingas was great. Since the lease was his own, a family unwilling to accept his authority could be expelled. The sale of milk, meat, and wool, the purchase of flour, salt, and other essential needs of the stani, were entirely in his hands. Through the six-month period the other families lived on his credit, and at its close his detailed calculations of profit and debt were necessarily taken on trust since he was often the only literate man in the group.

The measures of 1930 concerning protected leases had already modified the power of the tselingas since not only he but all his associated shepherds were individually protected under the law. But the regulations of Metaxas radically reinforced this trend since now each shepherd citizen was firmly entitled to graze his sheep for six months on the communal grassland of his own village. Thus in the summer pastures of the Zagori villages where a majority of the community had claimed their rights of citizenship, the size of the stani became more narrowly related to the simple needs of sheep management. In general, it became smaller in numbers, seldom exceeding 30 men, women, and children, but sometimes including only the members of a single family; its members were now almost exclusively kinsmen and affinal relations; its structure was looser and more egalitarian. There were parallel changes in the size and form of the winter stani. The winter groups, however, remained somewhat larger (up to 50 persons of all ages and sometimes more), since with lambing and milking more hands are needed in winter than summer. Moreover, with the shortage of winter grazing any man with land at his disposal, which for one reason or another was not subject to a protected lease, was still able to hold in a position of dependence as many sheep and men as his land would carry.

A further consequence was that the poorer shepherds.

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# III

# KINSMEN AND AFFINES

## 1. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF KINSMEN

6/2 THE kindred (τὸ σόϊ) includes only those blood kinsmen of a man (or woman)[1] who are formally recognized for social purposes. The Sarakatsani recognize as members of the kindred all cognatic relatives as far as the degree of second cousin, whether these links are traced through the father's or mother's side of the family. In this system, all those persons descended from a man's four grandparents and their brothers and sisters are his kinsmen, except the children of his second cousins, the grandchildren of his first cousins, and the great-grandchildren of his own siblings, who are not members of his kindred. To express this in more general terms, the recognition for social purposes of collateral relations is relatively wide in a man's own generation and subsequently becomes, from his point of view, relatively less wide in each descendant generation. As a man passes through life, critical events, such as his marriage and the birth of children, the marriages of these children and the birth of grandchildren, direct his obligations and interests to his own immediate descendants to the exclusion of collaterals.

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6/2 59 Kindred relationships are considered by the Sarakatsani to be extensions from the family. Naturally, it is always a member of a man's elementary family who mediates his various relationships in the kindred, parents providing the links with grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins; siblings those with nephews and nieces. And although the kindred is a system of personal relationships while the family is a corporate group,[2] the systematic character of the former, and the structure of the latter, are necessarily interdependent and consistent.

[1] Except where there is ambiguity I shall not repeat this cumbersome qualification.

[2] Perpetuity is a quality often premised of corporate kinship groups, whereas Sarakatsan families are limited to a life of some 40 years, i.e. the period which normally elapses between a man's marriage and the division

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59 612 The family is, indeed, the centre of the shepherd's world. Inside its limits he finds support, affection, and a sense of moral obligation. With certain qualifications these attitudes are extended to all the relations of the kindred. But outside the 571 family and the kindred a man meets and expects only hostility 602 and suspicion. There are conventions of conduct, but there is no 619 general conscience of obligation to others. From the point of view of each individual, the community is divided into those who are kinsmen, a man's own people (δικοί), and those who are not kinsmen, that is strangers (ξένοι). There is a third intermediate category of persons, the affines (συμπέθεροι), strangers with whom a man or his kinsman has become related through a contract of marriage. Confidence, trust, and an altruistic con- [612] cern about another individual's welfare can only exist between kinsmen, and it is only in a kinship relationship that a man is able to abandon the outlook of self-interest which normally guides him in relations outside the family.

612 It follows that a man looks towards his kinsmen for practical [578] support. As we have seen, unrelated families are mutually opposed. The family, with reference to which the individual must act in almost all contexts of behaviour, faces a hostile [162] community. Therefore this support is peculiarly important. Yet, in relation to the community's population of about 4,000 souls, the average size of an individual's kindred is small, seldom exceeding 250 men, women, and children of whom some 160 will be second cousins, a category of relations who are on the margin of kinship. Kinsmen are relatively few and correspondingly precious. In summer the kindred is scattered over 390 square miles of difficult and tortuous country, and a man does not, generally, live within an hour's walk of more than one-fifth of his kinsmen. This, in part, is the practical importance of kinship connexions; they offer a certain freedom of social manœuvre. Kinsmen established at strategic points through a community, which is numerically not small and geographically very dispersed, are able to offer hospitality and local information which pride and distrust prevent a man asking of [203] unrelated persons. The network of a man's kinship relations provides him with a system of information and intelligence without which he cannot conduct his affairs efficiently or profitably. The price that he should ask for his milk, his wool, and animals for

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place to place and from year to year. Therefore, if a kinsman has some grass which is good for fattening lambs or restoring weakened ewes, a man may ask him to take some of his weaker animals which are in difficulties. For this service he will have to pay, but he would not in any circumstances trust his sheep to the care of an unrelated shepherd.

But the most intimate form of economic association between kinsmen occurs where a number of autonomous but related families join together for the co-management of their flocks and, in particular, to discover and negotiate for winter pastures. The solution of this problem requires that the group should reach an understanding, whether direct or through an intermediary, with persons of influence in villages and government departments. The leader of such a 'company' is known as the tselingas (ὁ τσέλιγγας). In a majority of cases the nucleus of the group he leads may be described as a simple fraternal association, that is a number of married brothers with families, each of whom maintains his own household, his own purse, and has his own animals clearly marked. But, in addition, such groups often include uncles, nephews, brothers-in-law, paternal and maternal cousins, and it would be possible to produce many examples of different combinations of kinsmen and affinal relatives. At this point, it is sufficient to stress that they are founded upon ties of kinship and marriage, that they are voluntary and often unstable associations in which each family retains its own independent social personality, its own budget, and its own animals.

In these ways kinsmen give each other moral and practical support in facing a hostile and competitive world where one man delights openly and with little inhibition in the misfortunes of another. A man co-operates with his kinsmen because he trusts them. There is a sense of security within the kindred which is significantly absent outside its limits. One may not steal from a kinsman's flock, nor cheat him in monetary settlements, nor seduce his sister, nor gossip about his private affairs. But it is necessary to stress that there are definite limits to what may be expected from kinsmen. When honour demands a vengeance killing, kinsmen outside the family will lend moral support but none of them is obliged to pull the trigger or thrust home the knife. Again, money may be loaned between kinsmen

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occupy, before marriage, a socially equivalent status, but become, after their marriages, the points of departure of distinct collateral lines of descent.

At the beginning of this chapter I described the multiform character of the family. It is a domestic group, an economic and property-owning unit, a quasi-political association, a religious communion, and so on. It is now evident that the elementary family group is the only stable solidary unit associated with the kindred and that while it enjoys important support from collateral kinsmen, it is also, in a sense, isolated from them. The immense importance, then, of this social group on the one hand, and its lack of continuity through time on the other, mean that the institutionalized arrangements for its establishment or dissolution, for the transference of categorical rights and obligations from an old family to a new, are of critical importance. Underlying the nature of these arrangements is the simple fact that each individual during some part of his lifetime is almost always the member of two families: one of origin, the other of marriage.[16] A man is a son and brother in one family, a father and husband in the other; a woman is a daughter and sister in the family of origin, a mother and wife in the family of marriage. It is obviously important that the rights and duties of these different roles, when played by the same individual, should not conflict. This is a problem for all systems of kinship, but it is especially acute in this community because all the individual's significant rights and obligations inhere in the family and in no other group. The individual passes from his first family to his second through marriage. In the case of the woman the solution of the problem of conflicting roles is radical; she leaves the home of her father, who ceases to have any rights over her except the residual right of resuming his power over her if she becomes a widow before the birth of children. The protection of her honour is no longer the concern of her brothers, and her working services now belong exclusively to the husband's family. When later she pays one of her rare visits to her original home, she may not spin even a handful of her mother's wool. The husband does not shed the categorical obligations of his roles as son

[16] An individual may have membership in a third family; for the grandparents, after the division of the joint household, normally live as members of the family of marriage of their youngest son.

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and sibling quite so rapidly, though it is significant that after his marriage and even before the birth of his children he is unlikely to undertake a vengeance killing for a murdered brother or a dishonoured sister. Eventually, after five to ten years, but often sooner, he parts from the extended family and from all his remaining categorical rights and obligations as son and brother.

Thus siblings before their marriages are a unity for a person outside the group. If he injures or insults any member of the group, he attacks the whole group, every male member of which is under equal obligation to retaliate. At this stage siblings of the same sex are socially equivalent as to status, there is an almost complete identity of interest, and their mutual relations are governed by a consciousness of their common filiation to the same parents. After the marriages of the brothers and sisters of a sibling group the situation entirely changes. They no longer form a unity against the outsider nor are they socially equivalent; they have become differentiated by their marriages and young families. Their interests are no longer identified, and siblings both in form and effect are now merely collaterals. There is a growing tendency to isolation from all collateral lines, not only those of the individual's own siblings. The supreme value in a man's life now becomes the economic welfare and social prestige of his children. He is, therefore, not always free to give unreserved and unthinking aid to his brothers and cousins as he used to do. Moreover, he is now forced, also for the sake of his children, who derive the half of their kindred through their mother, to consolidate his relationship with his affines. This he can only do by weakening to some degree the previously exclusive solidary relations between himself and his brothers and sisters.

Always implicit in Sarakatsan kinship relations is the interplay of the two notions of sibling solidarity and parental obligation. Parental obligation, of course, is established through legitimate marriage and the resulting conjugal relationship, but the very strength of the latter relation is founded on the sacred character of parental love and duty. In the elementary family the two principles of sibling solidarity and parental obligation are complementary and together guide its members in their duties and exclusive affections. But in the relations of married

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siblings and collaterals the two principles are opposed, sibling solidarity being the source and justification of relationship and moral obligation between collaterals, while parental obligation is the principle which, within the limits of a bilateral kindred, isolates the family from other kinsmen and their families. At the risk of some repetition, and in summary form, the critical aspects of these relationships are: (1) before marriage siblings are bound to one another by categorical obligations; (2) after marriage, the purpose of which is the begetting of children, this nexus is gradually dissolved; (3) after marriage the supreme value in a man's life becomes the welfare of his children; (4) parenthood forces a man for the sake of his children to cultivate his affines; this weakens to some extent the relationship with his siblings; (5) brothers after living together for a few years after marriage as a united extended family divide the common flock and the common household; after partition brothers generally continue to co-operate in the management of their sheep, but on a basis of strict accountancy; (6) collateral kinship is conceived by the Sarakatsani themselves as an extension from the family of origin which relates kinsmen to an original pair of siblings; thus collaterals see themselves as united by derivation from a once united sibling group but divided as a result of the marriages contracted by the members of that group and their children.

I must now introduce a consideration which to some small extent qualifies the symmetry which I have claimed to be a feature of the bilateral kindred. The absence of a unilineal principle of descent grouping does not prevent the Sarakatsani from having a very strong sentimental interest in their patriline and a formal preference for those kinsmen who are related through the father, especially those who bear the same name. The cousins with whom a man often shares his early childhood years in an extended family are agnatic cousins. And while the obligation to carry out blood vengeance does not extend beyond the elementary family, it is significant that when a man voluntarily avenges a kinsman beyond this narrow circle it is almost always an agnatic first cousin. Yet it must be said again that outside the elementary family moral obligations to kinsmen of the same collateral degree are the same however the relationship is mediated. The man, who states categorically that 'we

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prefer relatives through the father', may name a maternal cousin as his most trusted friend.

When a Sarakatsanos talks loosely of his 'fathers and forefathers', he is probably thinking of a vague body of ancestors in the agnatic line. But in fact a man seldom knows very much about his direct ancestors in any line beyond the generation of his grandparents unless they have some claim to particular fame or infamy. Ascendant kinsmen are only relevant as individual personalities to the extent that they affect the inheritance of physical and moral attributes and social prestige. And it is the families of origin of the man's parents, presided over by his four grandparents, which essentially affect his social standing. The lines of descent from the two pairs of grandparents are the kinship co-ordinates, as it were, which intersect and define the unique position of a group of siblings within the community. Naturally the preference for the kinsmen of the father implies that in this evaluation the qualities of paternal kin have more weight, but this is not to be confused with the presence of a patrilineal descent principle.

A man is more interested in his sons than in his daughters simply because they are males and not because they are specifically agnatic links ensuring continuity in an exclusively agnatic descent line. It is important to a man to beget male children because in so doing he accentuates his own masculinity, extended in time. A man wants sons 'so that his name will be heard' (νὰ ἀκούεται τ'ὄνομά του), not simply the surname which is inherited patrilineally, but for it to be said that this is George Carvounis son of John Carvounis. Sons bring prestige, daughters do not. When the husband enters the hut for the first time after the birth of a daughter, his wife turns her head away and lowers her eyes in shame.

This formal preference for the father's kinsmen is consistent with, and indeed is, in the area of kinship, a reflection of the greater value placed upon the male sex. This is a fundamental value of Greek culture, whose essential masculinity can be remarked at all stages in its development from Homeric times until the present day. Thus, in the Sarakatsan community it is the behaviour of the ideal man that provides the dominant value patterns of honour and pride. The sexes divide the community into opposite yet complementary categories, categories

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which are moral as well as biological. The behaviour which is considered appropriate for the male and female stereotypes is at many points antithetical, and relations between the sexes are hostile although this hostility cannot generally be given overt expression. The male sex is held to be unambiguously superior not only in power but also in worth to the female, to which the stigma of original sin is closely attached. The female is a constant threat to the honour and integrity of the male, and must be disciplined and dominated. In the absence, therefore, of a unilineal descent principle, it is reasonable to suppose that these attitudes and beliefs of the Sarakatsani concerning the relation of the sexes are significantly connected with the preference for paternal kinsmen.

Patrilocal marriage fits consistently into the pattern of these preferences. A man brings his bride into the household of his father or if he has retired, into the household of his elder brother. The extended family of origin remains a single corporate unit until such time as one or more of the brothers decide to contract out, claiming then, as is their inalienable right, their equal shares in the flock. A brother begins to press for partition precisely when the claims of his children for special attention begin to be felt. Normally this occurs when the eldest child of the second son in a family is about five years old.

But the presence of extended families needs to be explained on other grounds than a preference for paternal kinsmen. Elsewhere in the Greek world, where masculine values and preference for paternal kin are equally strong, the residential pattern is often neolocal, that is to say the newly married couple set up house in a home of their own, independent of either family of origin. Such arrangements are, of course, exactly those we might expect to find associated with a bilateral kindred. Amongst the Sarakatsani there seem to be three important reasons why separation does not take place immediately after marriage. First there is the solidarity of the elementary family of origin built up over a period of about 25 years of mutual devotion and mutual responsibility in face of a hostile and critical world. It is difficult to describe adequately the quality of this solidarity, except perhaps to say that even by the standards of Greek family life it is remarkable—proof against appalling adversities and unyielding to the weaknesses of individuals.

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In a formal sense the elementary family is established on the day of marriage when the groom and his retinue of kinsmen and affines arrive to claim the bride at the huts of her father. After the celebration of the religious ceremony of betrothal in her own home the groom and his train escort the bride and her dowry back to the huts of the groom's family; there, after a short rest, for the journey is often long and rough, the wedding ceremony is performed by the priest on the afternoon of the same Sunday. None of the bride's family or kindred accompanies her to the home of the groom or witnesses the marriage service.[1] The physical severance from her family and kinsmen is complete and dramatic, the more so when it is remembered that since the day of her birth feelings of affection, co-operation at work, and even ordinary conversation, have only been possible for her inside the circle of the family and her kindred.

Many points of wedding custom reflect the character of her new status as a member of her husband's family of origin. When the groom arrives at the home of the bride and immediately before the religious ceremony of betrothal takes place, three gifts are presented to her by members of the groom's family. First the brother of the groom places at her feet a pair of new shoes; and in the right shoe he leaves a coin, preferably a gold sovereign. For now she enters a new pathway of her life, and it is hoped she will bring prosperity both to the family she is founding and to the family of her mother-in-law where she will live and work, at least for some years. Having placed the shoes at her feet the brother of the groom then greets her by taking her right hand in his. She returns his greeting with a demure and scarcely audible 'Thank you' and bending low over his outstretched hand carries it to her lips, then touches it to her forehead and once more to her lips. The other gift-bearers are sisters of the groom, or, if these are lacking, wives of his brothers. Their gifts are generally pieces of gold or silver jewellery, earrings, bracelets or necklaces with pendant crosses. The women greet the bride by kissing her first on the right cheek and then on the left and the bride responds by kissing their hands in the manner already described.

The moment comes when the bride must kiss the hands of her parents and leave them. Together with her brothers and

[1] However, where a family is related both to bride and groom, they will generally send a representative to support each side.

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sisters, her cousins and the wives of her brothers, she walks some two hundred yards to the place where the groom's party await her. As they walk they chant a song which with brevity and unspoken inference expresses her grief.

> Mother, bless me on this my first journey away from you.
> Daughter, go with my blessing, may God bring you fortune.[3]

The bride is surrendered, and the eldest brother of the groom mounts her on a chosen animal. The horse is led by a sister of the groom while the other sisters, brothers, and brothers' wives surround and support her on all sides; for she is not only frightened and desolate but physically weak after long hours of standing, and the lack of food and sleep which she has endured since the beginning of the customary ceremonies on the Friday. At the end of the journey the bride is led to the door of the bridegroom's hut where his parents stand to receive her. The father assists her to dismount and she kisses his hand. She kisses the mother's hand, too, and is embraced by her. Then, as she enters the hut, crossing the threshold with her right foot forward, the mother of the groom passes over her wrists two bracelets of bread and gives her a cup of wine in either hand which she pours in her steps as she moves to the far side of the hut. There she is greeted by and kisses the hands of those kinsmen and affines of the groom who did not make the journey to escort her from her home. Finally, they bring to her all the children; and in the same way and with the same respect she kisses their hands also. In the presentation of the gifts, and later of bread and wine, which are the elements of communion and commensality; in the concern the groom's family show for her on the journey to her new home; and in the bride's first ceremonial, but simple, exchange of greetings with people to whom she has never spoken, but to whom she is now irrevocably bound, there is symbolized the initial pattern of their relations, submission and respect on her part, and acceptance and protection on theirs.

[3] Εὐχήσου με μανούλα μου στὸ πρῶτο χίνημά μου.
Μὲ τὴν εὐχή μου, τσούπρα μου, Θεὸς νὰ σὲ προκόψῃ.

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585 From Sunday until the evening of Tuesday, by which time
602 the guests have all departed, the bride remains secluded inside the bridegroom's hut, where she is attended by relays of the groom's close female kinswomen. This seclusion fits the feelings of shyness and shame which a bride is expected to experience
[754] at the thought of the various implications of her new status; but it also protects her from the dangers of the evil eye, the destructive force of envy whether consciously or unconsciously exercised to which both the marriage partners are thought to be peculiarly susceptible at this time. In the groom's hut she is guarded and supported by the women with whom her lot is now cast and by the icons and other ritual objects which belong
[576] to the family. Whenever a stranger or a member of the family comes into the hut she at once stands up to show respect, gazing fixedly with expressionless stare at the ground in front of her. It is not unusual for a bride to stand transfixed in this way for three or four hours. It is with the greatest difficulty that from time to time she is persuaded to sit down and rest, or to eat a mouthful of wheaten bread dipped in wine.

[535] On the Monday, however, she must leave the hut about midday to lead the dance. She dances in turn with the marriage sponsor (ὁ κουμπάρος), her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and other prominent
[272] guests. On the Tuesday morning she prepares in silence cups of sweet coffee for her parents-in-law. They wish her long life and sons, and she thanks them. At midday she makes a rice pie. Later that day the guests, who night and day have been drinking, dancing, and feasting since Saturday morning, depart. Before they leave, the guests, almost all of whom are kinsmen or affines of the groom, take their leave of the bride, the men taking her hand, the women kissing her on the cheeks; and she with respect kisses their hands. Each guest makes her a small money gift and she in return gives each man a small wedding bag (τροβάς) of black and white check material woven by herself, in which is placed some bread, meat, and cheese for the homeward journey. Each female guest receives a smaller embroidered bag. To the sponsor the bride gives the choicest blanket (βελέντζα) of her dowry after he has presented her with a money gift of about 100 drachmas (twenty-five shillings). The bride, at this point, also exchanges gifts with the members

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of her husband's immediate family. She gives shirts or socks to her father-in-law and brothers-in-law. To her husband's sisters and sisters-in-law she presents embroidered bodices. As a rule the father-in-law presents the new bride with a blanket and the other members give her various articles of clothing, such as skirts or blouses.

All the guests have now left and on the Tuesday night the bride and groom sleep together for the first time. But the ceremonial introduction of the bride to her new family and the tasks she must perform is not yet completed. On the Wednesday the women of the family escort the bride to the well. With them walks a youth carrying the wedding standard. This standard attests the virginity and purity of the two partners and, except on the Sunday when it is borne in front of the bridegroom on his journey to claim the bride, it has flown above the thatch of the bridegroom's hut since the Saturday evening.[3] On the Wednesday morning, since the marriage has now been consummated in the physical union of the bride and groom, the standard is taken down from the roof. At the spring or well the shaft of the standard is thrust upright into the water and abandoned, while the standard is cut free and put away until the marriage of another son. In the minds of the Sarakatsani this is the definitive moment when the bride finally enters the ranks of the married women.[4] At once the bride fills and carries to the huts of her new home her first barrel of water. This is an appropriate task to open her new life of service; for carrying water is rightly considered by the women to be their hardest work. Bent double under their enormous load they must often stagger as far as a mile from the well to the huts. On the afternoon of the same day she takes up her distaff for the first time and spins a little red wool, red the colour which represents virility in her husband, strength and fertility in herself. On the Thursday, under the supervision of her mother-in-law and with some help from the other women, she washes the clothes of the whole family as well as her own undergarments stained with the blood of her virginity. During these first few days all the women of the family make a conscious effort to put the bride at ease in

[3] When it replaces a smaller flag made with a handkerchief, placed there at the beginning of the marriage preparations.

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 52.

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vengeance killing even if it concerns the death of a brother or the dishonour of a sister. Under the conditions of social life in a patrilocal extended family it is inevitable that there will be some conflict between a man's roles as son and brother in his family of origin and his roles as husband and father in his family of marriage. In important matters the Sarakatsani solve this problem by holding to the principle that obligations to direct lineal descendants always take priority over obligations to either direct ascendant or collateral kin. It is, then, not marriage but the birth of children which breaches the unity of the group of brothers.

The Sarakatsani claim that brothers would undoubtedly live together all their lives were it not for the quarrels of their wives. This is a rather too simple explanation of the causes which eventually lead to the separation of brothers; yet it is true that the differences between wives often provide the occasions for separation. There are two proverbs which the Sarakatsani often quote when discussing this subject. 'Women make the house and they destroy it' (οἱ γυναῖκες φκιάνουν τὸ σπίτι καὶ τὸ χαλᾶν). 'Wives are like nuts from forty different walnut trees' (ἀπὸ σαράντα καρυδιὲς καρύδια). The second proverb implies that wives are all alike, yet each comes from a different home. 'Each wife', said one informant, 'has her own mother. They cannot come to an understanding.' The Sarakatsani expect the wives of brothers to quarrel and on the whole they are not disappointed in their expectations. Yet, fundamentally, the growing distance between brothers is due to the obligations and affections which they owe to their children and which replace their former attachment to the sibling group. Quarrels between wives are not simply the result of incompatibility of temperament or some innate Greek sense of individuality. They arise because wives identify themselves with the rights and interests of their children. That this exclusive identification occurs, follows from the logic of the kinship system based on equivalent bilateral extension. As we have seen, the elementary family is the only corporate kinship group which is relatively enduring in this bilateral system. The children of each brother have in common with their cousins only half of their kindred. Through their affiliation to the kinsmen of their mother, they have certain affective interests and moral obligations they cannot share with their cousins.

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Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of 5%
her lack of physical robustness. About three years ago she lost 579
a baby girl. She was prostrate with grief and never fully re- 159
covered. She has been to a number of different doctors who 165
have agreed that she is suffering from 'weakness' but have variously diagnosed this as due to infected tonsils, bad heart, and anaemia. She has had her tonsils and adenoids removed 257
and a number of courses of injections; this treatment has cost a considerable sum of money and has produced no visible improvement. Demetrina, the wife of the second brother, is particularly scornful of Theodorina. 'Theodorina is down on the ground (κατὰ γῆς) again', she complains, and goes on to explain that she is leaving her children in the ditch to fend for themselves just because of an idea in her head. This refers to her grief for her little girl. It is right to grieve, but not to this extent where she is unable to care properly for her sons and daughters for whose existence she ought to thank God. No doubt what really annoys Demetrina and the other women is the money wasted on medicines, and the extra work which they have to do when Theodorina periodically says she is too sick to go about her tasks.

Demetrina, herself, is disliked by all the other wives and her mother-in-law because of her sharp tongue and her dogmatic holier-than-thou attitude. Her own family of origin is on the 602
worst of terms with her husband's brothers and she is suspected, not without reason, of passing on information about the conduct of affairs in the extended family into which she has married. She is a storm centre in many quarrels with the other wives on account of her four-year-old son, an unpleasant and physically tough blonde-headed bully, who maltreats his young cousins by hurling stones and hitting them over the head with pieces of wood. They note that this child resembles his maternal kin.

The third wife, Eleutherina, is a good worker but graceless 596
in body and personality. She suffers from some catarrhal com- 578
plaint which makes her speech almost unintelligible and causes 159
her nostrils to drool with mucus. Behind her back the other 732
wives mock her for these defects and she is conscious of this. Her small son Alec, who is four years old, suffers from the same catarrhal complaint, appears to be mentally backward, and is subject to periodic fits. She is held responsible for the disabilities 558
of the child which affect the prestige of the whole family.

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474 of a shepherd showing favouritism to his own animals by guiding
233 them to patches of better pasture. At lambing time each family tries to keep a careful watch in case ewe lambs born to its own sheep are surreptitiously exchanged for unwanted males. A careful awareness of one another and a vigilant concern for family rights govern the attitudes of the partners.

474 The principle of joint action also covers the various items of
233 income and expenditure which concern the interests of the whole
451 stani. At the cheese-maker's hut the milk is measured and credited to the stani as whole; this is partly a matter of convenience but it also means that all the shepherds have a common interest that the milk yield of the whole stani is as high as possible. Similarly, cotton-cake which supplements the diet of
[891] the ewes is bought by the 'company' not the family. The stani is regularly involved in minor law-suits over grazing boundaries, damage to crops, and sometimes there are more serious
[685] legal disputes. The fines which have to be paid and the fees for the attendance or advice of lawyers where this is necessary, are met by the stani as a whole, as are the expenses of the tselingas when he makes a journey to the town where the merchants, lawyers, and officials have their offices. Twice a year before the spring and autumn migrations the tselingas sits down with the other heads of family to settle their accounts. After the total expenses of the stani have been agreed, each family pays its share in proportion to the size of its flocks.

474 The form of association in a 'company' is contractual. Each
675 family has a number of relatively clearly defined and specific obligations to the group. It will not go far beyond these obliga-
[426] tions out of feelings of sentiment. Debts, for instance, are seldom allowed to accumulate between families in the same 'company'. Yet in the absence of formal legal sanctions contractual relations depend on a measure of confidence, a sentiment that is possible in this community only between those related by kinship or marriage.

474 In the table (see appendix I) which indicates the winter dis-
602 positions of the Neochori shepherds, two facts emerge about the composition of the winter co-operating groups. In all but one instance the nucleus of the 'company' is a group of brothers or, in one case, two pairs of brothers related as first cousins. A man prefers to co-operate with brothers. The confidence they

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have in one another is a source of moral and physical strength which supports their prestige in the community. The second observation is that of the other heads of family associated with the brothers who form the nucleus of a 'company', eleven are linked affinally and only seven collaterally. This reflects the bilateral form of the kindred. A man does not co-operate with affines from personal preference; in the absence of brothers he would generally prefer to work and live with cousins, nephews, or uncles. But he must always consider the interests of his children and if a wife's brother or a sister's husband is the member of a strong and influential group of brothers he may attach himself to their stani for the sake of his children, to whom they are closer kinsmen than, for example, his own first cousins.

The tselingas, the leader of the co-operating 'company', holds this position not by reason of particular charismatic qualities, but simply because he is the eldest brother of the sibling group which dominates the stani. It is true that if the eldest son is diffident, lacking in intelligence, or physically deformed, another son will be nominated by the father to succeed him when he retires from the active control of the family's affairs; but this happens only infrequently. If the group of brothers are still living as one extended family the eldest brother is both the executive head of his own family of origin and the tselingas of the co-operating 'company'. After the brothers of the extended family establish separate households, the eldest brother ceases to have any formal domestic jurisdiction over his brothers, but he generally remains as the tselingas of the group because of his greater experience in negotiations with merchants and officials. But although a man becomes a tselingas because of his 'structural' position and not because of personal qualities, he is nevertheless judged against the ideal type leader who above all possesses the quality of cleverness (ξυπνάδα). He ought to be mature but not old, and he should have many brothers, a large kindred, influential affines, patrons in high positions, and grazing land. For it is a man with these personal and practical advantages who attracts into his following the families of kinsmen or affines who do not have brothers, cannot agree with them, or whose brothers are not sufficiently wealthy and influential to remain together as the nucleus of a co-operating 'company'.

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474 602 571 Membership in a 'company' is in principle based on free association, although in particular cases a man without brothers may be so dependent upon the particular kinsmen who form the dominant nucleus of a 'company', that he has, in fact, little choice. But co-operating 'companies' are relatively stable associations only as long as the problems they help member families to overcome remain problems. They are a loose form of contractual association in which each family jealously guards its domestic autonomy and the right to secede at any time. Power to influence the association's decisions lies with the dominant group of brothers from whom the company takes its name, and it is the desire to escape from the position of dependence on this group which leads the more distantly related families in the association to detach themselves from it in the summer months.

474 602 578 Co-operation between kinsmen and affines has its difficulties. So imperative are the interests of a man's own family that sometimes he begins to suspect even the actions of a close kinsman if he co-operates with him: and he, himself, must sometimes fight against the temptation to defraud a kinsman or an affine. The Sarakatsani say that 'every stani has a pimp' (κάθε στάνη ἔχει τὸ ρουφιάνο της). Ρουφιάνος means a procurer and by extension a man without conscience or manliness. In this context it implies that in each co-operating group the cheese merchant is able to find at least one man who for the favour of more liberal credits is prepared to play the part of informer about the secrets of the group. As a statement of fact this is an exaggeration, but it testifies accurately to the strains and restraints that co-operation between related families involves, strains which are thought to be peculiarly inappropriate in the relations of kinsmen.

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youth provide enough incidents to nourish any personal aversion which for one reason or another may have arisen between young cousins. And if brothers quarrel, this, of course, inevitably affects the relations of their children. But a marked coolness between cousins of this class is rare; the Neochori group of 317 Sarakatsani provides only one example.

Relations between men and women who are reciprocally mother's brother's children and father's sister's children are almost always close and affectionate. These cousins are the children of a sister and brother whose relationship before the sister's marriage was governed by categorical obligations which concerned the honour of the girl, her brother, and the whole family. For the sister who arrives at her wedding day with a reputation in the community for right conduct, a brother has feelings of deep gratitude and trust which he expresses in his constant anxious inquiries about her welfare from anyone he meets who lives near her husband's huts. He is always ready to help his brother-in-law, however little he may like him personally, in order to make life a little easier for his sister and her children. And since women spend much time discussing kinsmen and their affairs, the sister's children learn at an early age about their cousins who are the children of her brother. But the relations of these cousins are not only a question of sentiment and its extension. Marriage is a contract between two unrelated families; and despite mutual distrust both groups are interested to consolidate their alliance. In the early years the two families of origin of the married pair may find in it a useful addition to the range of their co-operative relationships. However, the true concern of the husband and his wife's brothers is that their children shall not lack the support of a strong and devoted kindred. Their children are reciprocally those cousins who normally live in different localities and do not co-operate in sheep management. Between them there ought to be the kind of trust and sympathy which lead to deep friendship, the exchange of free favours, and that measure of general moral support without which a man's reputation cannot survive for long among the Sarakatsani.

From time to time there are opportunities to strengthen the affective quality of these relations. For a number of years after her marriage a woman pays one or possibly two visits a year to

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582 581 In these manœuvres, the object of both the family and their negotiator is to establish a marriage contract with a group in which, by reason of some mediating link of kinship, they can place a measure of trust. Some hostility will still exist between the groups, but there is the hope that it will pass more rapidly from the overt to the latent phase than otherwise is the case. From 121 marriages in recent years, 52 were contracted between families connected by some mediating link of kinship or marriage; nine were marriages between third cousins.

## 2. THE ELEMENT OF HOSTILITY MARRIAGE AND THE 'RETURN'

584 602 During the months which pass between the betrothal and the day of the marriage, the date of which is fixed at the betrothal, there is no communication between the two groups. If members of the two families or their close relatives meet by chance, they avoid one another. When Machoula Gogolos was approached by a sophisticated cousin of her betrothed after the Easter Sunday church service, she refused to exchange greetings with her, and turning her back, walked away. Each side in an atmosphere of mutual aversion separately attends to its wedding preparations.

585 602 The day of the wedding marks an important change in the relations between the two groups. On this day the two sides formally enter into affinal relations (συμπεθεριά), and a daughter leaves her home. The feelings of the girl's family, especially of her parents, are mixed. On the one hand there is relief and self-congratulation that they have succeeded in guarding her reputation unblemished and arranging an honourable marriage.

[1.52] But there is also true grief at the loss of a daughter, a loss which is harder to bear because of their anxiety about how the strangers will use her. It is easy to observe the strained expressions on the faces of the bride's brothers as they watch the groom's people boasting in loud voices and strutting about the homestead. But self-restraint must be exercised in dealings with affines, if only for the sake of the bride. The exchanges between the two groups, when the groom arrives to take away the bride, vary between the openly expressed hostility which sometimes occurs and a formal display of amity which is, in fact, a controlled hostility cloaked with fair words. Midway between

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these extremes is the ambivalence of certain marriage customs which express the mutual antagonism between the two sides and its limitation within conventional bounds. 585 602

When the groom's bridal procession arrives at a point about a quarter of a mile from the bride's home it halts. Five of the younger, braver, and better mounted men (συγχαριάτες) ride on ahead to bear the tidings of the groom's approach to the bride's people. Their object is to ride up to the door of the bride's hut at a full gallop, where they attempt to scatter and terrify the kinsmen of the bride. The aim of the bride's people, on the other hand, is to dismount and thereby ridicule as many of the riders as possible. Traditionally, this was done by firing blank charges at the feet of the oncoming horses, so that they reared in terror and threw their riders. Nowadays, if the [454] bride lives near a village, this method of attack is not attempted because the possession of firearms is illegal, but with the help of barking dogs and the banging of tin cans it is still possible to give the riders an unpleasant reception. Because convention permits this cut and thrust, no offence may be taken, unless it is pursued with an excess of malice. As each man reaches the door of the bride's hut, he claims from an appointed kinsman of the bride the coloured handkerchief which is the prerogative of these riders.

When the entire party of the groom has assembled, they are offered Turkish delight and a glass of ouzo by the bride's family, but this is the limit of the hospitality which is offered. Before the arrival of the groom, the bride's people have [271] prepared a shady picnic site, by spreading blankets on the ground and providing a barrel of fresh water. Thus while the bride's kinsmen eat and dance inside the huts, the groom's party take their midday meal outside under a tree, eating the food they have brought with them. They invariably eat this meal in a mood of impatient ill-humour, with many complaints that the water is tepid and the place unsuitable. By this formal denial of commensality the bride's family express their opposition to those who support the bridegroom.

After the religious betrothal ceremony has been completed, the groom's party are eager to leave. The bride's family, on the [535] contrary, insist that she goes through the lengthy ritual of dancing for the last time with each member of her family.

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585 'She is ours, now', shout the groom's men, which only en-
602 courages the other side to delay the departure for another half an hour. These arguments are accepted moves in the game and do not cause permanent offence so long as they remain within the limits of what is convetionally permitted.

Finally, when the bride is prepared to leave, there is some byplay over the acceptance and loading of the bride's dowry. The trunks and sacks in which this is contained are stacked in the doorway of the bride's hut. The young kinsmen of the groom advance to take it, but at this moment a kinsman of the bride jumps astride the first sack and shouts, 'Don't interfere with it. The sack doesn't belong to you. This dowry has great worth' (Μὴ τὸ πειράζῃς, εἶναι ξένο τὸ σακκί. Ἔχουν ἀξία τὰ προικιά). He refuses to get off the sack until the groom's eldest brother pays over some token pieces of money. The groom's kinsmen now drag the bulky sacks and trunks outside, where they begin to load them on to pack mules. This is an awkward operation which gives much enjoyment to the bride's kinsmen who stand round in a close circle mocking at the efforts of the other side to balance and secure the difficult loads.

But fair words are also exchanged. These expressions of amity indicate the readiness of each side to co-operate in establishing the new relationship and in supporting the children of the new family, on the understanding that the other side will also play their part. For the contract which is entered into at the betrothal is not confined to co-operation in the arrangement of the marriage, it also foresees the future obligations which the two families must assume towards the new family group in which both will have a common and balanced interest.

578 When the groom's party arrives at the bride's house, all the riders, including those unfortunates who may have been thrown from their horses, must exchange conventional greetings which express their common interest in the bridal couple. 'Good health to you, it is well that we have found you! May our bride and groom live long and prosper!' (Γειά σας! Καλῶς σᾶς ηὕραμε! Νὰ μᾶς ζήσουν! Νὰ μᾶς προκόψουν!). And a brother of the groom exchanges the wine and 'bread of the bride' (κουλούρα τῆς νύφης), baked by the women of the groom's family, for the same elements of communion and commensality prepared and presented by the bride's family.

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Half an hour later, as they drink the one glass of ouzo which, as we have seen, is the full extent of the hospitality shown to them, the bridegroom's kinsmen sing,

'We have not come for food or drink,
But because we love you,
We have come to see you.
I find tables fair and laden,
And glasses brimming over.
Three maidens with black eyes serve us.
Three maidens with the eyebrows of angels.'[1]

They could hardly sing more fairly. Thus during the two or three hours that the parties of the bride and the groom are in contact, marriage custom enjoins the expression of the opposed sentiments of friendship and enmity. It indicates the ambivalent character of the affinal relationship which demands co-operation between previously unrelated and therefore hostile families. Naturally this ambivalence of sentiment is more apparent in the early years, but it never wholly vanishes at any time.

The margins between antagonism permitted and instituted by convention and the display of excessive malice is narrow. Quarrels over the time and precise arrangements of the bride's departure frequently flare up into free violence. In one case, no sooner had the bride progressed some two hundred yards on her journey to the groom's home, than a fierce rain storm broke overhead drenching the bride and her white wedding dress.

[1] Δὲν ἤρθαμεν γιὰ φαΐ γιὰ πί
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα.
Μεῖς σᾶς ἀγαπήσαμεν,
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα,
ροϊδούλα, χαμαϊδούλα,
κι' ἤρθαμεν νὰ σᾶς δοῦμε.
Βρίσκω τραπέζια νἰμορφα
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα,
ροϊδούλα, χαμαϊδούλα,
γυαλιὰ παραγεμάτα.
Τρεῖς μαυρομάτες μᾶς κερνᾶν,
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα,
ροϊδούλα, χαμαϊδούλα,
κι τρεῖς ἀγγελαρρόδες.

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585 602 578 577 Her relatives, leaping to their horses, rode after the cavalcade insisting that the bride return and take shelter. The groom's kinsmen angrily refused to halt, pointing out that if a bride retraces her steps or even looks round upon the house she has left, it brings ill luck upon her new home. Refusing to be drawn into further argument, they rode on. The enraged kinsmen of the bride dismounted, and blaspheming against the sisters and mothers of their future affines, sent them away to a fusillade of rifle shots over their heads and stones aimed at their bodies.

However, the separate celebration of the wedding feast, each family in its own home, the denial of commensality, and the mutual display of antagonism institutionalized in wedding custom, are the last occasions on which the two families are permitted to bear witness openly to the aspect of mutual opposition in their relationship. Before the eldest brother of the bridegroom leaves the bride's house, he is offered a glass of ouzo by the bride's father or brother who says, 'We shall wait for you'. This refers to the customary visit or 'return' (ἐπιστροφή), which is made by the bride and groom and the latter's close relatives to the former home of the bride, generally on the second Sunday after the wedding. Meat is killed, quantities of wine are bought, and there is feasting and dancing through the night.

585 602 581 The 'return' is an important occasion. By this time, the new marriage relationship has been established both by the secular contract of betrothal between the two families and by the joining of the two individuals in the religious sacrament of marriage. In the first words of the service which refer to the bride and groom, the priest says, 'Let us pray to the Lord for his servants (X., Y.) who are now joining the one with the other for the common life of marriage.' The two individuals are now a social unity, a man-and-wife (ἀνδρόγυνο). It is not possible to help the one and not help the other, or withdraw support from one without withdrawing support from the other. Thus, the behaviour of both families at the 'return is necessarily oriented towards co-operation and forced goodwill.

585 602 At first conversation between the two families is stilted and formal, and restricted to neutral topics such as weather and taxes. The bride and groom, under the eyes of their respective affines, sit silent and constrained. But as the evening wears on,

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the wine and the dance produce a mellowing effect on the assembly; the groom begins to smile, and even the bride, with the merest flutter of her lips, tries to follow the singing.

One effect of this reunion of the bride with her people is to establish the interest of the bride's family in the new family which will be formed at the birth of the first child. The knowledge that the unborn children of the married pair will be affiliated equally to both their maternal and paternal relatives forces both sets of affines to act towards each other in a calculatingly friendly manner. However, this attitude is dictated not only by their common interest in the new family, but for reasons of prestige. Other people are uncharitably amused when a family is having in-law trouble (πιάστηκαν οι συμπέθεροι). In general both sets of affines try hard to conciliate one another and it follows that the attitudes of affines act as a strong sanction on a spouse in his or her actions within the marriage relationship. Similarly, in a wider sense, the attitude of one set of affines is a sanction for the correct conduct of the other set.

But what is undoubtedly uppermost in the minds of the bride's kinsmen at the 'return', is an anxiety to find out how the girl has been treated in general and in particular a certain malicious hope that perhaps the bridegroom has encountered some sexual difficulty. Conversely, the object of the groom's people is to deny the bride the opportunity to transmit this kind of information. A sister or brother's wife of the bridegroom is always a member of the groom's party; she sits close to the bride, and attends her every movement so far as good manners will allow. However, the young wife generally succeeds in whispering a few of the desired details into the ear of her mother or a sister; and every Sarakatsan woman is a mistress of the art of conveying meaning with her eyes.

In the morning the affines say farewell. No sooner have the echoes of the piously uttered sentiments of goodwill died away than each side indulges in a critical appraisal of what was said and done by the other side at the 'return'. The bride's family, in particular, may have some very interesting material to discuss whether it is fact or simply conjecture. Invariably the criticism is very unfriendly and reveals the hostility of the affinal relationship, a hostility, however, which must no longer be openly expressed.

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585 Betrothal, marriage, and the 'return' are the three stages
602 in which affinal relations are fully established. The betrothal
584 is the formal contract between the two hostile groups after which there is a period of separation while the two sides, like two opposed camps of war, prepare for the marriage. At the marriage the emphasis is still upon the distance which separates the two groups. Each family surrounded by its own kinsmen and affines celebrates the occasion apart. The two sides make contact only at the point where the groom comes to take away the bride. And this confrontation, although it is marked, as we have seen, by the expression of friendship as well as antagonism, is essentially characterized as a warlike descent.[1] The martial array of the groom's procession, the standard-bearer, the charge of the leading riders to the door of the bride's hut, and the deployment of the bride's supporters to repel this attack, all contribute to form this dramatic impression. After the marriage, until they meet generally two weeks later at the 'return', the two sides adjust themselves to the realities of a new situation. The groom's family try to help the bride overcome her loneliness and despair, while the bride's family, in a sense the defeated party, are anxious and sensitive about the treatment of the bride at her new home. The two groups, despite the inevitable undercurrents of animosity and suspicion, meet at the 'return' fully conscious of the necessity and the advantages of future co-operation.

### 3. THE OBLIGATIONS OF AFFINES

602 The recognition of affinal relationships is even more flexible
612 than the recognition of cognatic kinship. Affinal relationship may be claimed not only with the elementary family of origin of a person's spouse, or the elementary family of origin of the wife or husband of any member in a person's kindred, but also with the entire kindred of the marriage partner. Consequently a man may, if it suits his convenience, describe himself as an affine of the second cousin of the spouse of his second cousin. Generally, however, a man limits his use of the term affine to the kindreds of his own wife, and of the marriage partners of his brothers and sisters, and to only the elementary families

[1] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol i, Part A, p. 906'.

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of origin of the marriage partners of his collateral kinsmen. There are also two quasi-affinal relationships which must be mentioned; that of co-bride (συννυφάδα), which is the link between a man's wife and the wife of his brother; and similarly that of co-bridegroom (μπατζανάκης), which describes the relationship of two men who are married to sisters.

The importance of the principle of parental obligation is once more apparent when we ask which are the significant affinal relationships. These are, in fact, the relationships between an individual and those affines who are, or will be, parents of the first cousins of his (or her) own children; more specifically relationships with the husbands or wives of siblings, and with the siblings of the individual's own marriage partner. Whatever a man's personal feelings may be, for the sake of his children he is almost compelled to co-operate with these affines. A brother tries hard to win the goodwill of his sister's husband. He is anxious that she should receive good treatment among the strangers to whom he and his family have given her. And it is noticeable that in the early years of marriage while the bride is still unsure of her position in the new family, her brothers often do more favours and good turns for the husband and his family than they receive in return.

But from the point of view of the husband, too, this is the critical affinal relation. So long as his dealings with the siblings and parents of his wife remain friendly his children are assured of adequate kinship support. In the early years of marriage, the nostalgia of the wife for her family of origin and her old home is not easily appeased. The physical separation of affines does not make visits to her parents very easy, and in any case, as we have seen, her husband and his brothers are not pleased if communication is too frequent. In practice, most young brides manage to visit their homes about twice a year. It is an accepted custom that young brides accompanied by their husbands set out on the Tuesday after Easter to visit the bride's home for five or six days. In the early years, these occasions may be something of an ordeal for the bridegroom. He must show a careful and studied respect towards his father-in-law and mother-in-law (πεθερός, πεθερά). Even with the brother or sister of his wife (κουνιάδος, κουνιάδα) he cannot relax, but must appear at all times severe and grave.

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606 607 For their part, the family of the bride both for her sake and the sake of her children try very hard to please the 'bridegroom'. 'The father-in-law must entertain the bridegroom and keep him content' (ὁ πεθερὸς πρέπει νὰ εὐχαριστήσῃ καὶ φιλοξενήσῃ τὸ γαμπρό), they say. When the bridegroom comes on a visit [574] meat is always killed, an honour which is not automatically accorded to a blood kinsman however close. After the passage of some years and the establishment of the new family, relations between the husband and his wife's family of origin become less tense and formal, and if the bridegroom is an honourable man, his father and brothers-in-law may eventually trust him with some of their secrets. Yet even after the passage of years, close affinal relatives of the same generation must behave in a dignified and restrained manner in each other's presence. The easy familiarity between cousins of both sexes finds no parallel in the case of affinal relations. Affines do not laugh and joke together.

602 609 We need not discuss again the position of the bride in her husband's extended family of origin; something has already been said about this in chapter four. The brothers and sisters of the married pair may see one another from time to time. The husband, or a young unmarried brother of the husband, always escorts the wife when she goes to her home to see her parents, and one of the wife's brothers brings her back to her husband's 602 home at the end of her visit. On these and other chance occasions, some at least of the members of the two families of origin come to know one another. But these relations never become easy and familiar. The link between co-parents-in-law (συμπέθεροι)[4] is formal. At the time of the marriage of their children, the fathers have already retired or are on the point of doing so, and since affines generally do not live in the same village, and the parents-in-law do not visit each other's homes, social contact between them is minimal.

In general, effective co-operation between affines does not usually occur beyond the limits of the two elementary families of origin of a married pair. The significance of affinal relations beyond this range is negative, that is to say a man avoids giving offence to or dealing deceitfully with such people. But even

[4] As we have seen, συμπέθερος is also used in a wider sense to mean affines in general.

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within this narrow circle affinal relationships which do not mediate links of cousinship in the first descendant generation are vulnerable to stress and friction. In particular a man's relations with the brothers of his brother's wife are easily beset with resentment and jealousies. Inevitably one brother sometimes makes a more successful marriage than another, whether this be judged in terms of dowry, the social standing of the bride's family, or her physical beauty. Furthermore, marriage and the birth of his children end a man's categorical obligations to his own siblings; and at the same time he must give particular consideration to his relations with the close kinsmen of his wife. These are events which must lead to a growing distance between the members of a sibling group. A man feels free to show more enmity to affines related through his brother's wife, persons who stand for the weakening of kinship ties in his family of origin and his kindred, than to affines related through his own wife who represent co-operative endeavour in the support of his own descendants.

An example of difficulties between affines occurred in the extended family of Theodoros Ferendinos, whose affairs were discussed in some detail in chapter four. The second brother, Demetrios, married the sister of George Balatsos. During the village elections, in 1955, an agreement was made between the heads of all the Sarakatsan households to cast their votes in unanimous support of the opposition party which had secretly promised a reduction in pasturage dues. This agreement became known to the other side. The President of the village by an astute combination of bribery and threats persuaded Balatsos and another influential family head secretly to ignore the agreement and vote for his own group. In the event, the President retained office by a margin of five votes. The defection of the Balatsos family from the original agreement did not, however, remain a secret. When Theodoros Ferendinos met George Balatsos in a street in Jannina a week after the election, bitter words passed between the two men. From that day, although the two families lived in the same village, the members of the two groups avoided meeting or talking to one another. Demetrios and his wife, however, were exceptions. Without mentioning the fact Demetrios paid a number of visits to his affines whose huts lay only some 300 yards away. Theodoros

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Theodoros

602 578 and his other brothers were able effectively to express their hostility towards the Balatsos group for their faithless behaviour. But Demetrios, because they were the family of his wife and the close maternal kin of his two young children, felt that in some way he must maintain these relations. For some months this fact was a source of considerable annoyance to his brothers, who inside the family circle and in the absences of his wife ridiculed his attitude of compromise. Fortunately he is an easy-tempered man and accepted these rebukes in silence. But an element of strain was introduced into the relations of the brothers which in other families might have led to blows and the permanent severance of relations. A man must try to hold a balance between his attachment to his siblings which derives from the bonds of mutual identification in his family of origin and his relations of contractual co-operation with the kinsmen of his wife. This is not always easy.

602 [594] It is this 'balance', in relation to parents' categorical duties to their children, which leads to the emancipation of the elementary family from both the families of origin of the two parents. In describing life in the extended family we saw how [596] the control of the husband's family over his bride suddenly weakens after the birth of her first child; how the brothers of the husband no longer give the bride peremptory orders in his presence; how they must never interfere with her handling of her children and so on.

593 594 There is a corresponding degree of independence from any influence of the wife's family of origin; but in this instance it is established immediately on the day of marriage. When a bride goes to see her parents, she is not permitted for the four or five days of her visit to do any work. As an honoured guest she sits by the hearth, and to occupy her hands, while she gossips, she spins wool. But it must be her own wool especially transported in a small sack by her husband for this purpose. She is not permitted to spin her mother's wool even in a situation where the family is under pressure to finish the dowry of a younger sister.

593 606 Moreover, when a father or brother has given his daughter or sister in marriage, he is quite powerless to interfere directly if the husband maltreats her. Chronic wife-beating is rare, but where it does occur, the wife's family can only help her by

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indirect pressures, such as the withdrawal of moral and practical support from the husband or, if his conduct is not widely known, the threat to ridicule him in public. But these, it may be added, are powerful sanctions. 593 606

The content of co-operation between affines is not significantly different from the kind of assistance given and received by cognatic kinsmen. Since affines generally live in a different neighbourhood, it happens not infrequently that a wife's brother acts as negotiator in arranging a marriage for a younger brother of his sister's husband. The fact that he is willing to perform this service is in itself a recommendation of the prospective bridegroom's family. It is also because they generally live in different neighbourhoods that a man sometimes turns to a close affine when he is in difficulty over the pasturing of his animals. When Apostolis Zygos had a few acres of grazing land in excess of his winter grazing needs, he rented them to the husband of his brother's daughter for a sum somewhat lower than an offer made to him by an unrelated neighbour. The neighbour was hard-pressed for grass and later showed his resentment, it is alleged, by stealing two of Zygos' lambs. The niece's husband brought a hundred of his sheep from his own winter grazing, forty miles away, and employed a local village boy to assist one of his brothers in watching them. Thus, affinal ties, like relations within the kindred, although they often involve physical separation, generally take precedence over the more tenuous obligations of being a good neighbour. 602 [584] 602 233

Another example of help given to an affine illustrates the variable character of this assistance. In the territory of certain of the eastern villages of Zagori the Sarakatsani do not live in or close to the village but build their encampments, each stani separately, some miles away and close to their grazing land. Alec Katris lives three miles from the village of Laista. His small ten-year-old daughter Chrysanthe cannot make this long journey to school each day unaccompanied. And since Alec has no kinsman or affine who lives close to Laista, he sends his daughter for the summer term to live with the family of the brother of his sister's husband who lives at Skamneli, a neighbouring village, where she attends the school. There is no money payment for the girl's board but at the beginning of the 602 [361] [871] [431]

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602 431 term the father sends a generously large sack of flour to his relatives. And when he heard that his affine was in need of some timber to repair the rafters of his house, Alec at once despatched, as a free gift, a mule load of sawn planks of which he happened to possess a small store. The difference between the help given to a kinsman and the co-operative assistance lent to an affine is that in the latter instance there is no such thing as a 'free favour'. Had Alec Katris been able to send his little daughter to live with a cousin or some other kinsman, he would have made a contribution in flour to cover the expense of her presence in the kinsman's family, but it would not have been necessary to make a counter gift of a load of valuable timber. The 'trouble' as opposed to the 'expense' of having the child in the home would have been a 'free favour', making no demands upon the family's corporately owned resources. But where a man does a personal service for an affine, some return favour is always awaited. In these relations the element of contract is always present, and a certain competitive attitude as to which set of affines fulfils its obligations with the greater punctilio.

606 591 596 The fate of a man who lives as a son-in-law in the home of his wife's parents is the extreme example of how affines are always expected to claim their pound of flesh. This arrangement is made only in a case where a man has daughters but no sons. After the elder daughters have been married off in the normal manner, the youngest girl marries a man who 'goes as bride-[583] groom' (πάει γαμπρός) into the home of his wife. As his contribution to the establishment of the new elementary family, he brings with him his share of the flock in his own family of origin, an amount of wealth which corresponds in function to the woman's dowry in the normal marriage. Materially, the [429] bridegroom may do very well out of this transaction, since eventually he becomes the trustee of the whole of his father-in-law's flock. Yet it is difficult to find a man from a family of good [828] standing and moderate wealth to take this step. Particularly [428] in the earlier years a man loses his self-respect and manliness in a situation where he is at the beck and call of his wife's parents, who feel entitled, without embarrassment, to exploit his labour in return for the eventual inheritance of the wife's patrimony; this in most cases greatly exceeds the value of an ordinary dowry.

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ordinary dowry. Yet the Sarakatsani say of such a bridegroom that his fate is 'worse than that of a skinned fox' (χειρότερα ἀπὸ τὴν γδαρμένη ἀλεποῦ).

A man never entirely trusts his affines. Yet precisely because of the co-operative compact which has been established and their equal concern for children who will claim both sets of affines as blood kinsmen, close affinal relatives must give positive proof of seeming to trust one another. A man will sometimes entrust his unmarried sister to the care of a sister's husband or a sister's husband's brother. When Patra Achnoulas went to Athens to see an eye specialist, her sister's husband, who also had business in the capital, accompanied her. It is reasoned correctly that only a mentally deranged person would act dishonourably in such a situation since his punishment at the hands of the community would be ostracism. Yet such is the suspicious attitude adopted towards affines that the Sarakatsani have many stories, no doubt spurious in the main, about illicit sexual intercourse between a bridegroom and his wife's sister; although it is true that these cautionary tales generally involve villagers or gipsies and not Sarakatsani. The true incidence of such affairs amongst the Sarakatsani themselves is probably very low; I could discover only one case, and that did not occur in recent years. If we speak generally of breaches of trust, it may be said that where these occur between kinsmen they produce a feeling of horror akin to the reaction to treason in our own society; but where the breach of trust is between affines the shock rather prompts a degree of criticism that, affines being what they are, a man did not take more care.

## 4. SOME STRUCTURAL IMPLICATIONS

The marriage contract which establishes affinal relations between two previously unrelated families is unique and may not be repeated. For instance, two brothers may not marry two sisters, although they are permitted to marry women related as first cousins. Like the prohibition on marriage in the kindred this reinforces the tendency towards the isolation of the family from collateral kinsmen. The suggestion that if the first marriage were successful it might be a good thing for two brothers to be married to two sisters is met with shocked incredulity. 'They have made one blood. They must search

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582 602 elsewhere,' the Sarakatsani say. The restriction on the marriage of close affines, associated with the prohibition on marriage in the kindred, forces those who are searching for prospective brides always to look outside the circle of well established relationships.

582 602 612 Indeed this examination of affinal relationships has largely turned on the various correlates of the prohibition on marriage in the kindred. We have seen that a man must marry a person who, in effect, was formerly an enemy, and that the element of hostility never entirely vanishes from the affinal relationship although a common interest in the children of a marriage produces and sanctions a degree of co-operation between affines. The marriage prohibitions symbolize and divide off a category of social relations based on trust. Those people with whom marriage is permitted are, on the other hand, suspect. The prohibitions clearly set apart non-kinsmen, 'strangers', from kinsmen, 'own people', and the two opposed behaviour patterns which are proper to each of these categories of relations. Affinal connexions compose a third interstitial category of social relations with persons previously strangers to whom a man is related through the contract of marriage of himself or a kinsman. In the opposition between kin and non-kin they tend to be assimilated to the latter category when the practical consideration is one of trust or confidence, and to the former when it is a question of the possibility of co-operation.

582 602 612 554 [558] The marriage prohibitions prevent alliances in the kindred which would in some degree reverse the process of isolation from collateral kinsmen. They also force each family to regard unrelated families as potential affines. In this analysis of Sarakatsan kinship the importance of prestige values has been constantly emphasized. If men of standing will not marry the daughters of a family or give their own in marriage to its sons, the prestige of this family must inevitably fall. The kind of marriage a man or woman makes is an index of prestige and at the same time is a very important element in the future reputation of the new family they are establishing. Therefore marriage prohibitions while they contribute inevitably to the relative isolation of a man from his collateral kin, not only have the consequence that marriages establish co-operative relationships between previously opposed family groups, but

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they are also an important incidental factor in support of the community's values; because, if men do not conform to these, they and their close kinsmen will not make honourable marriages. What sets men apart in one set of circumstances, tends to unite them in another.

The characteristic ambivalence of affinal relations has analogous consequences in terms of the spatial distribution of kinsmen. The Sarakatsani do not approve of marriages between families who live in the same village neighbourhood. For instance, the marriage of Demetrios Ferendinos to the sister of George Balatsos is the only case in his summer village. It is significant that this alliance provides us with an example of friction between affines. The Sarakatsani tell one that 'affines quarrel easily' (πιάνονται εύκολα οι συμπέθεροι). It is particularly dangerous if the bride is able to run to her parents and brothers with tales of ill-treatment, and gossip about what goes on inside her husband's family. Not only is it safer to keep affines at a distance, but in another neighbourhood they may sometimes be of practical use. Marriages which are arranged between families in different neighbourhoods tend to produce individual kindreds which are dispersed and whose geographical 'boundaries' are roughly congruent with the boundaries of the community itself. A man through his scattered kindred and affinal relations participates vicariously in the life of the community of the Zagori Sarakatsani. If he has a kinsman or affine in a distant neighbourhood, he is interested in its local affairs, for these affect his relative whose interests are a matter of sympathetic concern to him and in certain circumstances may affect his own prestige. Therefore distrust of affines leads to the practice of taking a bride from another, preferably a distant, neighbourhood; this is one factor in the wide dispersion of individual kindreds in the community; and, in turn, this dispersion of recognized kinship ties increases the individual's consciousness of participation and membership in the total community.

These, then, are instances where marriage regulations or conventional attitudes about affines lead to a certain distance, between kinsmen in the first instance, between affines in the second, but in their further consequences encourage a wider synthesis; in the one case, in terms of conformity to the values

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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582 602 612 619 of the community and the constant proliferation, through marriages, of new relationships between opposed families; and in the other, a moral participation in the affairs of the different local segments of the geographically dispersed community. In both cases these considerations depend ultimately on the simple fact that 'kinsmen' and 'strangers' represent opposed but complementary categories of persons.

* * *

602 612 This completes the discussion of the general characteristics of Sarakatsan kinship and marriage. Naturally the consequent system of personal relations has various implications beyond the field of kinship behaviour. Here I will indicate only one of these, but one that is peculiarly characteristic of Greek society and will continue to concern us in the chapters that follow.

59 602 612 571 As we have seen, the community from the viewpoint of each individual is divided into kinsmen and non-kinsmen, 'own people' and 'strangers'. The division is unequivocal; kinsmen inspire loyalty and obligation, strangers distrust and moral indifference. Yet within the category of kinsmen itself the only stable solidary group is the family. Plainly, the nature of the physical and social environment is such that it forces this small group, however it may value the ideal of autarky, to cultivate both intensively and extensively the support of kinsmen and affines. But for reasons inherent in the structure of the kindred, which it has been my purpose in this and the three preceding chapters to analyse, that support is contingent upon a kinsman's prior commitments to his own family. Thus the family emerges as a social isolate in two associated respects. In the first case, families unrelated by kinship admit virtually no moral obligation towards one another; in the second, families related by kinship nevertheless owe only conditional services. In a 59 602 597 community where social relations are marked by such radical discontinuities it follows that the primary values are necessarily particularistic. The mutual opposition of family groups is expressed through the concept of honour with its connotations of exclusiveness, not the morality of universal values such as honesty or fair dealing. And Christian virtues such as humility, meekness, and self-effacement suggest only weakness; whereas

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strength is simulated better by the heroic attitudes of self-assertion, pride, and even arrogance. Strength, individual prepotence, is what each man needs to be an effective protagonist for his family, and the protector of its public reputation and honour against the calumnies of those who are also its judges.

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602
577

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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less effective is the response. To some extent this is so even where the reasons for delay are physical: for instance, the killer is in prison, or the avenger is not yet adult. But it is said that if an affront to honour remained unanswered over a period of years after an adult unmarried avenger was available and the killer physically present in the community, then the quality of the dishonour ascribed to the family would be such that an eventual vengeance killing would not reinstate the reputation of the victim's family. For, on grounds of damaging conjectures about the personal motives for this delay, other families would be able to continue asserting the relative integrity of their own honour by denying it to the family of the victim. The case is hypothetical since there has been no instance of this kind in recent years, but it is indicative of Sarakatsan thinking on this matter.

The defence of family honour is at once an indication of family solidarity and a process which recreates it. The honour of the family, the solidarity of this group, and the mutual responsibility of its members, are correlated notions. It is true that passive solidarity does not extend to questions of vengeance where a life is demanded, but in other respects it is complete. A man may suffer physical assault for the offence of his father, brother, or son. Further, if one member of a family acts dishonourably, all the other members of the family lose honour in the eyes of the community. If a man is killed or a sister's betrothal is broken, and the family remains inactive, all its members are equally dishonoured. Since all are responsible for the actions of any one, every member is accountable to every other member. All the members of the family necessarily form a single solidary group for the protection of their common honour.

## 2. HOSTILITY BETWEEN UNRELATED FAMILIES

In the preceding chapters we have seen that for each individual this community is divided into the two opposite but complementary categories of kinsmen and strangers; trust marking relations in the one category, distrust in the other. Distrust prevents co-operation between shepherds who are not kinsmen or affines, and the four or five men that are necessary to manage a flock are either father and sons or a co-operative 'company' of kinsmen and relatives by marriage. Moreover, the produce of the

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Zagori



571 609 578 [476] [234] animals. But this never leads to a comradely offer of assistance which might finish the task in a single mule train. A man with a single animal may have to struggle three or four times in the day up and down to the village while the man with three or four mules sits and watches as his animals graze in idleness.

All social relations between unrelated persons are pervaded by this attitude of distrust. We may recall how sometimes in marriage negotiations the girl's family try to conceal her shortcomings and attempt by implication to suggest that a more attractive younger sister is the prospective bride. A man and his family distrust unrelated people because they expect to be exploited and tricked by them. They admit that they themselves would act in a similar manner. They say that a man must protect his family, and to do this in the world as he finds it some cunning and some lies are necessary.

571 609 578 685 [554] Before 1937, the mutual hostility of unrelated families found an institutionalized form of expression in the custom of 'animal theft' (ζωοκλοπή), more especially of sheep. Although the severity of the penalties introduced by the government of Metaxas effectively stifled this activity almost overnight, most of the heads of families are old enough to remember the alarms and excitements of sheep theft. The desire to steal is still privately expressed (and occasionally indulged in) and the qualities of courage and intelligence which were necessary in these adventures are still the ideal attributes of the hero and 'pallikari'. As we shall see, theft of another sort has now replaced it. But one cannot doubt that but for the pressure of the State law sheep theft would still be a vigorous institution.

The more general form of sheep theft was the small-scale expedition undertaken by a lone individual or in company with one or two trusted kinsmen. The object was to steal one or two sheep from the flock of an unrelated man, transport the animals with speed to the huts of the families involved where the sheep were at once killed, roasted, and eaten, as a precaution against [602] the discovery of incriminating evidence. Sheep were never stolen from kinsmen or affines and generally not from other flocks in the immediate vicinity. This precaution was taken not from any neighbourly spirit, but because it was realized that, if two neighbouring groups engaged in a sequence of theft and counter-theft, shepherding would soon become impossible, and the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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562 602 831 find in it. A bride, during the last days before her wedding, is kept company by those unmarried kinswomen who live close at hand. They help her in the last feverish preparations of her dowry. The girls sympathize with the bride, but say that they will never leave their homes to submit themselves to a strange man. The bride applauds their decision, and says that she will secrete a knife upon her person and that when the bridegroom comes to her she will castrate him.

521 562 831 577 Unrelated men, when they are gathered together, criticize women in a general way. Wives, it is often said contemptuously, need two things, copulation and beating. But men are not given to obscenity except in oaths, and they do not discuss the intimacies of sexual relations, since these concern their manliness in a very literal sense; moreover, any discussion of a woman's sexual qualities diminishes her honour.

562 577 828 The opposition of the two sexes is also reflected in a pattern of sex-linked attributes which are antithetical but complementary. Men are courageous, austere, possess manliness and pride, but lack patience. Women are fearful, lacking in resolution but have greater depths of love; they are sensitive to shame, modest and patient. However, the masculine values transcend this opposition and provide the ideal virtues of the total community. Men must never in any circumstances be too modest or sensitive to shame. But when their family is threatened with violence and outrage, even women will find a pride and courage of heroic quality, and for this they will be honoured.

562 828 783 [979] If the female sex is opposed to the male sex, it is also inferior. The Sarakatsani believe that man is a being created by God for the highest and the noblest purposes. Since the Fall there has been a legacy of sin in his constitution yet all in all he remains noble. The flaws in the human condition are envy and sexuality, for these are the thoughts and desires that particularly have the power to turn men's thoughts away from God and from the struggle to draw closer to Him. Manliness has a physiological basis but it only becomes a true manliness when it is disciplined and spiritualized. Sexual intercourse, then, is not an unmixed good. It is something which is 'unseemly' or 'out of alignment' (ἀνάποδο). In some way it pollutes (μαγαρίζει). After sleeping with his wife a shepherd ought to wash his hands before milking sheep. A ewe is a 'sacred thing' (ἱερὸ

562 783 833

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori



156 women do not go
out into the world and compete with one another. On the
157 contrary, their activities centre round the hearth where they
562 ought to co-operate with their kinswomen and, if they are
[602] married, with their sisters-in-law and the wives of the husband's brothers. When a woman is said to have self-regard, this generally refers to a touchy and unco-operative attitude with other women in the extended family or co-operating group; it is, then, not a quality for self-congratulation.

156 Conversely, where shame is the fear of failure or criticism
562 that demands a careful modest constrained demeanour, it is
[831] said that women have more shame than men. The Sarakatsani point out that since it is the sexuality of women which provokes men and not the reverse, women have the greater need to be constantly restrained in their thoughts and actions by a sense of sexual shame. Furthermore, since men must battle with one another in the community and show craftiness in their dealings with prominent and useful people outside its boundaries, it is clear that the restrictive régime, which an extreme sense of shame imposes on an individual, is incompatible with the social role of the head of family who must generally assert himself and on occasion for the sake of his family may even be forced into questionable actions. This is not to say that a man does not equally feel shame when he is judged to have failed. It means, rather, that unlike a woman he cannot remain always in a state of shame, in the sense of guarding against imminent failure by a careful restriction of behaviour and movement.

* * *

156 The fear of gossip and ridicule is closely related to the two
626 concepts of self-regard and shame. The prestige of an individual, or a family, is constantly being evaluated and re-evaluated in the community through gossip about personalities and events. To be gossiped about is in most cases to be criticized adversely, and since people enjoy this recreation they laugh at and ridicule the object of their discussion. The knowledge, or the imagining, of this ridicule and laughter is an important element in a man's feelings of shame. For if the outside world judges him to be a failure he has also failed to live up to his own ideal image of himself which depends on success.

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182 refraction of Orthodox dogma and practice, yet the value of
577 the Christian ideal of the fellowship of all men in Christ, with
771 the universalistic ethical values that follow from it, is not to be avoided. How is this opposition of values resolved or accommodated?

182 There is no great problem of fellowship between Sarakatsani
577 who are related by kinship or marriage. By associating The
771 Father, The Son, and the Mother of God in a Holy archetype
602 Family, the institutions and relationships of the Sarakatsan family, even the concept of honour and the duty to defend it, are given a categorical quality and a divine sanction; and by extension kindred and affinal bonds receive a similar validation. It is true that even within this restricted circle certain Christian values cannot enjoy a general application. Modesty, meekness, humility are values only admirable in women. Some Christian prescriptions have to be entirely set aside. One cannot forgive a kinsman who has betrayed his trust, at least
[735] not until he is dead. And one avoids the company of a kinsman who is despised for his poverty; the poor are not blessed. Yet love (ἀγάπη), mutual trust, truth, and altruism are important Christian virtues which are the ideal values of family and kinship life. Men would extend the circle of their application if they could, but the conditions of life in a fallen world prevent this, particularly limited resources, the divinely sanctioned honour and interests of a man's own family, the condition of envy.

182 Yet in their commitment to the concept of honour as the
577 guiding principle of behaviour, the Sarakatsani cannot admit
771 themselves to be anything but noble; and this must be said not
783 only of the soul but the body also, for honour is related to
828 physical strength and manliness when this is disciplined and spiritualized. The original guilt for sin must be placed elsewhere. This is the role of the Devil. Sensuality was the sin of Adam but only after the sin had been thought of and presented to him by the Devil with the assistance of woman. Envy, the more fundamental sin, was originally the cause of the Devil's rebellion against God. 'The Devil envied God' (ὁ διάβολος ζήλεψε τὸν Θεό), the Sarakatsani say. In this way the Sarakatsani avoid personal guilt for their own implication in these sins. Even in the case of personal sins for which individual

# APPENDIX I

## THE WINTER CO-OPERATIVE GROUPINGS OF SARAKATSANI GRAZING THE LANDS OF A ZAGORI VILLAGE (NEOCHORI) IN 1935

| HOUSEHOLDS | The No. of Brothers (if an extended household) | Relation of Head of household to Tsilingas* or Leader of the unit | Working males over 13 years of age | Working females over 13 years of age | Sons at secondary school | Wage shepherds working away from family | Children and old people not able to work | Total | Horses and Mules | Sheep | Goats | Total of Sheep and Goats | Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| †1. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Constantine Tangas | | Tsel. | 3 | 2 | 1 | — | 1 | 7 | 2 | 325 | 40 | 365 | Winter grazing: Grika. Pasture leased with protected rights |
| Vasili | | Br. | 4 | 1 | — | — | 0 | 5 | 4 | 282 | 40 | 322 | |
| Demetrios | | Br. | 1 | 3 | — | — | 2 | 6 | 2 | 229 | 30 | 259 | |
| Evangelos | | Br. | 2 | 5 | — | — | 2 | 9 | 1 | 171 | 30 | 201 | The families of George Tangas, John Vangelis and George Makris each graze their sheep separately in summer |
| George | | Br. | 4 | 7 | — | — | 0 | 11 | 11 | 255 | 50 | 305 | |
| John Vangelis | | Sis.Hus. | 4 | 4 | — | — | 1 | 9 | 5 | 298 | 40 | 338 | |
| George Makris | | Sis.Son | 3 | 4 | — | — | 6 | 13 | 2 | 353 | 30 | 383 | |
| Miltiades Kallis | | Br.Wi.Sis.Hus. | 1 | 2 | — | — | 3 | 6 | 2 | 40 | 15 | 55 | |
| | | | 22 | | | | | 66 | | | | 2228 | |

* In this table I reserve the term Tsilingas for the leader of a group with more than 500 animals.
† The numbered groups of households represent sheep management units.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
[illegible] 357
162
233
423
454
582
602

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
602 596 494 428 233 162
[B 3547]

| HOUSEHOLDS | The No. of Brothers (if an extended household) | Relation of Head of house-hold to Technique as Leader of the stani | Working males over 15 years of age | Working females over 15 years of age | Sons at secondary school | Wives shepherds working away from family | Children and old people not able to work | Total | Horses and Mules | Sheep | Cows | Total of Sheep and Cows | Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| George Zyrou | 2 | Tnl. | 3 | 5 | — | — | 1 | 9 | 2 | 355 | 0 | 355 | Winter grazing: Nea Kerasounda. Pasture |
| ‡ Miltiades Loutsaris | | Mo.Br.Son | 2 | 2 | — | — | 1 | 5 | 1 | 100 | 10 | 110 | leased with protected rights |
| Costas Sultanos | | Fa.Br.D.Hus. | 1 | 2 | — | 2 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 45 | 0 | 45 | |
| | | | 6 | | | | | 21 | | | | 510 | |
| 3. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Grezory Kapialis | 3 | Tnl. | 5 | 7 | 2 | — | 6 | 20 | 12 | 405 | 70 | 475 | Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Own small |
| ‡ John | | Fa.Br.Son | 2 | 4 | — | — | 0 | 6 | 3 | 160 | 20 | 180 | property with olive trees. Have right to graze |
| | | | 7 | | | | | 26 | | | | 655 | on village common land |
| 4. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vasili Charbis | | Tnl. | 1 | 1 | — | — | 4 | 6 | 3 | 320 | 0 | 320 | Winter grazing: Kamarina. Own property |
| Michael | | Br. | 1 | 1 | — | — | 2 | 4 | 3 | 200 | 30 | 230 | for grazing. The families of Kakos and |
| Spiros Kakos | | Unrelated hired | 3 | 1 | — | — | 5 | 9 | 1 | 40 | 10 | 50 | Konakis remain with the stani winter and |
| Costas Konakis | | Shepherds | 2 | 3 | — | — | 1 | 6 | 1 | 40 | 0 | 40 | summer |
| | | | 7 | | | | | 25 | | | | 640 | |

‡ Indicates households in these winter groupings which do not graze at Neochori in the summer.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ‡ Const. Gogolos | | Tsel. | 2 | 2 | — | — | 4 | 8 | 3 | 160 | 20 | 180 | Winter grazing: Skoupitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights |
| ‡ John | | Br. | 1 | 1 | — | — | 0 | 2 | 4 | 170 | 20 | 190 | |
| ‡ Thomas | | Fa.Br.Son | 1 | 2 | — | — | 3 | 6 | 2 | 150 | 10 | 160 | |
| ‡ Throcharis | | Fa.Br.Son | 1 | 2 | — | — | 2 | 5 | 3 | 170 | 25 | 195 | |
| Michael Detsikas | | Sis.Hus. | 4 | 2 | — | — | 3 | 9 | 4 | 213 | 60 | 273 | Detsikas and Chasekis graze their flocks separately in the summer |
| Alec Chasekis | 2 | § | 2 | 3 | — | — | 5 | 10 | 3 | 100 | 30 | 130 | |
| | | | 11 | | | | | 40 | | | | 1190 | |
| 6. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Evangelos Karageorgis | | Tsel. | 3 | 2 | — | — | 0 | 5 | 2 | 220 | 30 | 250 | Winter grazing: Spatharati. Temporary possession of abandoned Muslim pasture |
| Athanasios | | Br. | 2 | 2 | — | — | 3 | 7 | 2 | 177 | 20 | 197 | |
| George | | Br. | 1 | 1 | — | — | 1 | 3 | 2 | 140 | 50 | 190 | |
| Demetrios | | Br. | 1 | 1 | — | — | 3 | 5 | 2 | 167 | 30 | 197 | |
| Sister of George's dead wife (Unmarried) | | | 0 | 1 | — | — | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 60 | 60 | This woman lives alone under the stani's protection |
| | | | 7 | | | | | 21 | | | | 894 | |
| 7. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Theodoros Myrsounis | 5 | Tsel. | 5 | 5 | — | — | 7 | 17 | 6 | 396 | 80 | 476 | Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land now leased to them by the villagers after a compulsory Government order. Raftis grazes separately in the summer |
| ‡ Sotiri | | Fa.Br. | 1 | 3 | — | — | 1 | 5 | 1 | 20 | 90 | 110 | |
| Pericles | | Fa.Br.Son | 2 | 3 | — | — | 3 | 8 | 2 | 155 | 15 | 170 | |
| Theodoros Raftis | | Hus. of Mo. first cousin | 3 | 5 | — | — | 0 | 8 | 4 | 162 | 120 | 282 | |
| | | | 11 | | | | | 38 | | | | 1038 | |
| 8. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Demetrios Paparounas | 4 | Tsel. | 5 | 4 | — | — | 10 | 19 | 9 | 530 | 60 | 590 | Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers |
| Photios Gogolos | | Sis.Hus. | 1 | 1 | — | — | 3 | 7 | 1 | 50 | 0 | 50 | |
| | | | 6 | | | | | 26 | | | | 640 | |

§ (A cousin of Michael Detsikas married Chasekis' sister)

E.359
162
233
427
474
592
602

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
1962
2332
1964
1964
1962
2002

| HOUSEHOLDS | The No. of Brothers (if un-married Individuals) | Relation of Head of house-hold to Technique of Leader of the unit | Working males over 13 years of age | Working females over 13 years of age | Sons at secondary school | Wage shepherds working every Basic Family | Children and old people not able to work | Total | Horses and Mules | Sheep | Goats | Total of Sheep and Goats | Notes re Location of Winter grazing, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Christos Arvanitis | 3 | Tael. | 4 | 4 | — | — | 5 | 13 | 7 | 430 | 60 | 490 | Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim |
| Evangelos Katris | | Mo.Sis.Hus. | 2 | 3 | — | — | 0 | 5 | 4 | 90 | 100 | 190 | land leased by villagers. Katris grazes his |
| | | | 6 | | | | | 18 | | | | 680 | flocks separately in the summer |
| 10. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Dionysios Barkas | | Leader | 4 | 1 | — | — | 0 | 5 | 5 | 190 | 70 | 260 | Winter grazing: Mourton. Fallow land rented |
| Spiros Arvanitis | | Fa.-in-law | 0 | 2 | — | — | 3 | 5 | 0 | 5 | 60 | 65 | from villagers |
| | | | 4 | | | | | 10 | | | | 325 | |
| 11. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Demetrios Paschos | | Leader | 2 | 2 | — | 2 | 0 | 6 | 2 | 140 | 0 | 140 | Winter grazing: South of Gulf of Arta, |
| Lambros | | Br. | 1 | 3 | — | — | 1 | 5 | 1 | 20 | 25 | 45 | fallow land rented from villagers |
| Demetrios Theodorakis | | Wi.Br. | 1 | 2 | — | 1 | 0 | 4 | 7 | 98 | 30 | 128 | Theodorakis grazes separately in the summer |
| | | | 4 | | | | | 15 | | | | 313 | |
| 12. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Evangelos Loutsaris | | Leader | 2 | 2 | 1 | — | 1 | 6 | 2 | 140 | 0 | 140 | Winter grazing: Grammenitsa. Pasture leased |
| George | | Br. | 1 | 1 | — | — | 4 | 6 | 2 | 140 | 0 | 140 | with protected rights |
| | | | 3 | | | | | 12 | | | | 280 | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13. George Kapsalis | 2 | — | 3 | 3 | — | — | 0 | 6 | 3 | 180 | 0 | 180 | Winter grazing: Kanallaki. Shepherds to villagers |
| | | | 3 | | | | | 6 | | | | 180 | |
| 14. George Charisis | 2 | — | 3 | 3 | — | — | 3 | 9 | 5 | 110 | 60 | 170 | Winter grazing: Kamarina. Fallow land rented from villagers |
| | | | 3 | | | | | 9 | | | | 170 | |
| 15. Demetrios Dethikas | — | — | 1 | 2 | — | 1 | — | 4 | 1 | 54 | 0 | 54 | Winter grazing: Philippiada. Shepherd to villager |
| | | | 1 | | | | | 4 | | | | 54 | |
| 16. Theodoros Arvanitis | — | — | 1 | 2 | — | — | 2 | 5 | 1 | 80 | 15 | 95 | Winter grazing: Kamarina. In winter shepherd to villager. Summer, runs own sheep in one flock |
| | | | 1 | | | | | 5 | | | | 95 | |
| 17. Demetrios Ladias | — | — | 2 | 4 | — | — | 1 | 7 | 1 | 30 | 10 | 40 | Winter grazing: Preveza. Shepherd to Sarakatsan stani. In summer, shepherd to villager |
| | | | 2 | | | | | 7 | | | | 40 | |
| 18. Spiridon Carvounis | - | - | 2 | 2 | — | — | 1 | 5 | 2 | 85 | 20 | 105 | Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Temporary allotment of former Muslim land |
| | | | 2 | | | | | 5 | | | | 105 | |

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
[illegible]
162
233
H21
H01
S82
202

/126 cont./

582 613 182 The sociological value of this double play (expansion-constriction of kinship relations, actually social relations, between members of the same lineage by means of the marriage prohibition) resides in the fact that this system permits: first, an increase in the chances of procuring a bride belonging to the Sarakatsani milieu; second, a restoration and reinforcement of social ties which, because of a distant degree of kinship, might be loosened through a new, closer relationship.

Moreover, if the marriage between "cognates" were forbidden in perpetuity, the initial lineage would disintegrate.

602 582 Incidentally, we must emphasize that the system of kinship of the Sarakatsani is that which was adopted by Roman law. The following table (no. 1), in illustrating these remarks, shows /127/

TABLE No. 1

Obstacles to Marriage - Kinship System

EGO ♂ = ♀

| Generations | Terms for vertical relationships | Terms for horizontal relationships | Terms for diagonal relationships |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Brothers | |
| I. | Sons | 1st Cousins | Uncle 1st degree |
| II. | Grandsons | 2nd Cousins | Uncle 2nd degree |
| III. | Great-grandsons | 3rd Cousins | Uncle 3rd degree |
| IV. | Great-great grandsons | | |

the degrees of kinship as well as the kinship terms.

612 In other words, this is a bilateral kinship system based on consanguinity, identical with that which Western civilized society has known for a long time. (2)

2. It has its roots in Roman Law. See Digesta: Livre 38, heading 10, paragraph 10. Paulus 5, 11.

602 613 193 The Sarakatsani believe that kinship disappears beyond this eighth degree. This principle coincides with their collective family memory, and defines its limits. Madame Hadjimichali has tried to reconstruct the genealogical tree of several Sarakatsani lineages on the basis of memories of the last generation. Now these informants were able to furnish her with

/127 cont./

602 613 173 information only up to a common ancestor four generations back and never beyond that. (3)

3. Ibid., A. II, p. 6-7.

582 Must we conclude from this that kinship by blood transmitted by a common male ancestor is an absolute obstacle to marriage so far as it exists (socially and not biologically, of course)? In other words: is marriage between collateral kinsmen having the same male ancestor and within the limits we have defined considered incestuous and therefore forbidden? The Sarakatsani do not give a definite answer. /128/ But the facts are there and they speak for themselves in the affirmative.

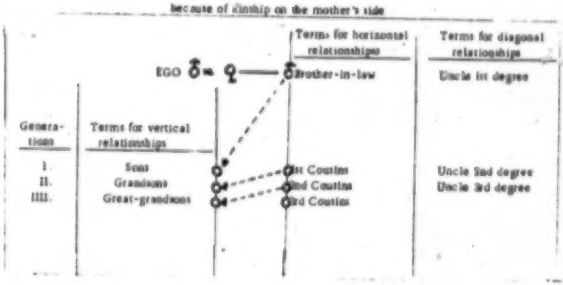
However, the role of kinship, insofar as it is an obstacle to marriage varies further in the following cases:

First, kinship on the mother's side prevents marriage only up to the sixth degree, so that we were able to set up the following table (no. 2).

TABLE No. 2

Obstacles to marriage

because of kinship on the mother's side



/127 cont./

582 Thus marriage is permitted in this case between uncle and niece in the third degree and between cousins in the third degree; this amounts to the same thing, /as marriage/ after the third generation and between great-grandchildren of the mother and those of her brother.

It is essential to emphasize that here there is a possibility open of passing from one generation to another (uncle in the second degree and his niece). As a result, we may say that this system; first, compensates for the severe restrictions to marriage introduced by the preceding

[602]
[613]

/128 cont./
582 system, since it considerably widens the circle of potential spouses;
602 second, offers us proof that a double blood tie existing between members
(213) of the same lineage reinforces kinship. We rediscover here the corollary of the preceding statement concerning the /129/ limits of incest, limits which, in the case of matrilateral kinship, are less far-reaching; third, finally, it reveals a fact of primordial importance, namely that agnatic kinship is considered superior to cognatic kinship. (4)

4. According to the terminology of Roman law "sunt autem agnati per virilis sexus personas cognatione juncti" (Gaius) and again "agnati sunt a patre cognati" (Ulpien).

Moreover, this same limit of the sixth degree of kinship applies also in affinal kinship, as the Sarakatsani say, known as quasi-alliance, according to the formula of Byzantine law. Involved here is the so-called kinship which is created between kin of the husband and kin of the wife because of the marriage of these two individuals.

Properly speaking, this is not a true kinship, but a close relationship between the members of two families where a son of one and a daughter of the other have contracted marriage. This connection was considered close enough by the orthodox church and the Byzantine legislators to warrant forbidding marriage between the husband's brother and his wife's kin up to the sixth degree of kinship, for reasons of modesty and discretion. The intent was to prevent relatives of one from taking advantage of the access available to them through this connection to the family of the other for the purpose of establishing relations with one of its members. (5)

5. In that epoch the kinsmen who had access to the women's apartments were the father, the brother and the uncle:... reference in Greek follow here p. 129.

It should not be forgotten that in those times the women lived in the gynaeceum. (6) /separate women's appartments/

6. See François Filelfe: Correspondances, p. 97.

/132 cont./

621 602 One should not lose sight of a fact which we have already repeated many times, namely that the Sarakatsani generally live /133/ in small isolated groups in the mountains or on the plains in the midst of a society they are unwilling to accept. It is therefore not astonishing that they seek to establish a system of security based on internal solidarity and collaboration among themselves and that these two forms of social integration depend, in turn, on kinship through affinity. However, it is necessary to demonstrate this.

627 621 602 Kinship imposes obligation. The study of vendetta among the Sarakatsani will show us that this form of punishment cannot be applied among kin. It will show us also that when a vendetta starts it often ends only when two members of the rival families marry. Another observation should be added in connection with an expression the Sarakatsani use to designate those who do not belong to their family, the symbolic significance of which is unmistakable: "people" enter into the circle of kinship, hostility is liable to change to a certain amity. The "people" become "we."

602 However, both the number of blood relatives and that of affinal relatives is limited. Moreover, the creation of kinship by affinity is not always possible.

608 182 [197] In response to the overwhelming necessity of insuring loyal allies and collaborators, they resort to fraternization. That this practice, which is, moreover, not uniquely Sarakatsani but common to all the shepherds all over Greece, aims at such an effect the ethnographer D. Loucopoulos affirms without reservation. (15)

15. Ibid., p. 211

According to him, "this custom was practiced chiefly during village fairs. The religious ritual concluded, the stavradelphia left the church, and publicly, with songs, drinking bouts and banquets made known to all that they had become brothers. This encouraged friends and intimidated enemies."

[124] Our Sarakatsani informants, having always expressed an identical

608 /133 cont./
182 opinion, there remains no doubt about the function of fraternization.
[124] It could hardly be otherwise. At the time of Byzantium, as well as during the Turkish occupation, the Hellenic populations lived in an entire society in which the organized machinery of /134/ the state was miserably inefficient. (16)

16. For more details see the chapter on Sarakatsani law.

The various autochthonous groups thus felt a real need to form alliances and lend each other aid. This explains, moreover, the failure to abolish fraternization, despite the threats of the church, the pressure of present necessity prevailing over the fear of future punishment, even coming from God.

607 The social significance of this practice is thus the best demonstra-
608 tion of the general social function of kinship and this in turn also ex-
182 plains the obstacles to marriage as well as the societal control of the
582 choice of future spouses. If kinship by fraternization can play such a role, kinship by blood, kinship by affinity and even spiritual kinship should be all the more capable of assuming it with even greater success.

We are therefore now in a position to explain and understand several facts. We are able to explain the inclusion of the Koutsovalaque in fraternization, though afflicted by the prohibition of marriage. We can understand that fraternization as well spiritual kinship tends to compensate for the possible ineffect of the equation "kinsman = ally."

581 Finally, we see that marriage, insofar as it is the creator of kin-
602 ship, has the double function of assuring the perpetuation of the Sarakatsani socially as well as biologically.

586 There still remains two rules for us to examine which, though not
587 bearing on the preparations for marriage, must be included in this section
[128] because their social justification is ascribable to the same logic as the preceding rules:

First, <u>divorce is unknown among the Sarakatsani.</u> Next, a <u>second marriage, in case of the death of one of the spouses is unthinkable.</u>

[581] Now if we accept the fact that marriage is a way of establishing
[182]

/134 cont./

586 587 182 [581] solidarity among the different Sarakatsani groups, it is obvious that divorce or a second marriage would irremediably disturb the established alliances. Even more. There would be a risk that they might give rise to hostilities and disorder.

586 182 578 602 As a matter of fact, in the first case, the dismissal of the wife, an opposite act to that of marriage, implies by its very nature the estrangement /135/ from kin-by-marriage. From another standpoint, it can scarcely fail to provoke feelings of humiliation, of wounded self-esteem, of disappointed egoism, all the more conducive to the development of tensions, if not conflicts, when all of this takes place on a collective level.

[587] Moreover, in case of the death of the wife, the new marriage would separate from the husband's life the relatives of the deceased, who would be replaced in the alliance by the relative of the new wife--an event which could potentially create an explosive situation between two lineages.

586 587 602 858 578 [613] The existence of children would aggravate and multiply the respective grievances. Obligatorily bound at one and the same time to the relatives of their mother and to the relatives of the new wife of their father, the children would be compelled to live in an ambiguous situation. If disaffections of this kind should appear, the matter would concern not only the two lineages involved, but also all the lineages related to the principals by marriage. One sees the entanglement and the number of antagonisms would thus become considerable.

581 182 Therefore, there is no doubt that, in the face of the possibility of such serious social complications, the interest of the group require that, if the traditional system cannot be made more flexible, the individuals and their personal happiness must be sacrificed for its benefit.

[593] [586] [587] This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani. Even if life together turns out to be unbearable, the couple must go on. And the widower or the widow remain solitary until death.

* * * *

/135 cont./

602 571 182 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a complementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

585 602 /136/ The Principles of Married Life.

The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[529] [474] [605] [572] [492] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 602 536 [583] Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party withdraw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a [533] [539] dialogue between the future spouses:

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113] 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
(593) "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
(562) husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.
562 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
(533) during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:
(539) --And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

(533) Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
(602) is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
(539) their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

583 585 602 533 539 562 /137 cont./
--In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
In impeccable fashion and bright
As the sun and the moon...
You must prostrate yourself,
You must honor your mother-in-law.
And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
And thought well of in the entire world...

562 583 585 602 261 [516] Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days, custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult to her new family.

583 585 602 593 562 [178] Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her. Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house. According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter, but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times. What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 562 594 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family, her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 We have spoken previously of the public consent of the bride's kin, the significance of which, beyond what we have pointed out, consists of granting to the marriage of the young girl all the guarantees of legitimacy and convention. It seems to us that this act presupposes a rule according to which "the children born from a proper marriage are legitimate."

However, though on this point we can proceed only by hypothesis, since the Sarakatsani do not express themselves, they are fortunately a certain number of practices which leave no doubt as to their function and which we shall now enumerate:

[221] [492] [484] First, in the course of the seasonal migration, if there is a new bride in the group, it is she who, on horseback, rides at the head of the caravan.

[554] [474] When one realizes that only the chief of the Tséligato has the privilege of traveling mounted while everybody else goes on foot, we understand that this distinction granted the bride has a profound significance. This significance cannot be reduced to the desire of the Sarakatsani to honor the bride, as was formerly maintained. (20)

20. See Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I, p.

Neither in the ritual of marriage nor in the family life as such does one find anything that can justify such an attitude with regard to the bride.

On the contrary, we have seen that everything tends to place the latter in an inferior position. Now, the practices found in a traditional society cannot be mutually contradictory. They always form coherent systems, and it is obvious that where one thinks one sees apparent contradictions, there is in fact a profound and sometimes hidden reason that guarantees the equilibrium and the cohesion of the system in question.

Our conclusions about the social functions of marriage (to insure collaborators and friends among lineages) explain this phenomenon.

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 613 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world," surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

585 602 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure, let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of [342] the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 833 602 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the matter.

597 834 831 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions, especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

> 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene: One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine, [593] started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons, despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this), is not a simple and easy act.

/141 cont./

848 We believe that the true justification for this suppression
842 resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the
(833) legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act
(602) must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives
574 his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the new-
(431) born child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must "sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation
852 of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and
848 which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father
182 the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would he celebrate its birth?

848 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to
602 surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

(613) Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in
578 advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship
602 bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relationships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

848 /142 cont./
578 a dispute of this kind could only engender disorder, even the dis-
602 solution of the group.

848 It is, moreover, within this same complex of ideas that we must
684 seek the justification of the sanction which is imposed on any woman convicted of adultery and which always means death. It is essential, [593] first of all, to prevent even the possibility of illegitimate children. [152] Sarakatsani law that threatens with capital punishment the women who betray conjugal fidelity, does not seek to punish the flouting of love, [182] since love does not exist between spouses--at least officially. It merely preserves the integrity of Sarakatsani society.

The Life Style of the Conjugal Family.

855 The presence of children in the family raises a whole series
594 of questions dealing with their education, their status and their relations with each other as well as with their parents.

855 Up to the age of approximately ten years the children of both
593 sexes grow up together under the vigilance of their mother. That is
594 the period of their lives when, on the one hand, the father is seldom involved and, on the other hand, bonds are established between them
855 and with their mother. /143/ Having reached this age, the boys begin
593 to follow their father and their older brothers in order to learn the
868 methods of herding, while the girls remain close to their mother in
594 order to be initiated into the mysteries of the distaff and the loom.

593 Toward their father all the children without distinction owe
594 absolute obedience and devotion. The study of marriage has sufficiently shown this.

Toward their mother the girls likewise owe obedience and devotion.

For the sons the situation is different. We were present at the return to the parental hut after a long absence of a Sarakatsani son aged 30 years. We remember vividly the scene of his meeting with his mother, which made a great impression on us. He bowed to her and kissed her hand.

/158 cont./

596 474 602 Such devotion, such self-sacrifice can scarcely develop within the framework of a contractual bond, no matter of what kind. Something more is required. Only a blood tie, and thus kinship, is alone capable of attaching to bonds of economic cooperation the basis and the moral and emotional content which will transform them into truly social and human ties, into a true and supreme solidarity.

It is for this reason that the Sarakatsani have adopted the form of the extended family as the basis of their socio-economic organization.

Thus we see that the principal determinants at the basis of this process are of two orders: economic (efficiency in herding and the associated business) and social (security through solidarity). The remaining determinants involved will become apparent in the course of our exposition.

The Life Style of the Extended Family and its Social Functions.

596 128 If we have grouped these two subjects under one heading it is because the way to grasp the social functions of the extended family is through the study of their way of life. We shall thus proceed from the latter to arrive at the former.

596 Made up of conjugal families and non-married individuals, the extended family determines the life of its components and dominates them on all, or nearly all, levels.

(342) (594) (613) (171) First, its members live together. (34) However, if their number is too large, they live in adjacent huts, each hut being occupied by a conjugal family or a small /159/ lineage, without disrupting mutual contacts which always remain intimate and unbroken.

34. The model of this type of living-together already existed in Greece in Homeric times: Iliad VI, 244: "The Palace of Priam sheltered a large number of his married sons and sons-in-law." Odyssey III, 387: "Nesor had his bachelor sons sleep in his room, and installed in his palace his married sons, etc."

/174 cont./

596 613 591 602 596 (421) If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship, but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/ men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

## THE TSÉLIGATO

### THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 494 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agoticha, pp. 35-39.

311 233 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233 427 (423) Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 427 571 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties. For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

/191 cont./
438 the necessity of contact with the outside. The share and the kind of
439 goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression "closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

233 731 In the second place, the economy of these herders is a specialized economy. It is based on a single productive activity, herding, which is not carried on without involving certain consequences. When conditions for the exercise of herding become unfavorable (for example, an epidemic), ruin is inevitable. Now, although the Tséligato as a financing body is in
233 731 a position to remedy this situation, the extended family for its part
474 provides able assistance. All the relatives not affected by the calamity
596 must offer animals to the victims so that they can replenish their flocks.
[602] Thus, the drawbacks of specialization are transformed into incentives for solidarity and cooperation. However, if these measures prove impracticable or insufficient, there is no alternative but the dissolution of the family and the Tséligato and the enrollment of their members in Tséligatos not afflicted.

433 The third principle of this economy is to be found in the fact that it
[554] must insure the Sarakatsani's subsistence and, in some cases, yield them
significant social prestige. The speculation and risk peculiar to any
[434] commercial enterprise in which profit is an end in itself are unknown to them.

436 From the monetary point of view this economy operates under a double
437 system. There is no circulation of money within the extended family or the
474 Tséligato. All the payments that the head grants his subjects are in kind.
596 In the Tséligato, money appears only at the moment when the seasonal accounting is completed /192/ and when the Tséligas distributes among the

/205 cont./

671 [128] We shall conclude with certain critical reflections and an appreciation of Sarakatsani law.

Non-Criminal Law

Rules of law concerning family life.

Thanks to the detailed study of marriage and the family among the Sarakatsani, the corresponding laws are well known to us.

The rules of betrothal (the societal control of future spouses, the consent of the parents and the solemn confirmation by the exchange of gifts), the obstacles to marriage, kinship and its forms, the obedience of the wife and her protection, the internal hierarchy of the family, the legitimization of descendents (control, formal acceptance), conjugal fidelity and the widowed state, co-ownership of the patrimony, the shared business, the types management and internal organization of the extended family, the societal control of income, its distribution and accumulation, the hierarchy within the extended family, the right to separate from it, /206/ finally inheritance rights constitute so many issues for which legal regulation is required, as we have emphasized in the corresponding sections.

671 429 768 602 If the children are minors at the death of their father, a family council consisting of the nearest male relatives in the paternal as well as the maternal line undertake their guardianship and the management of their patrimony.

Although this principle is always valid, the guardianship is, in fact, almost exclusively exercised by a single individual, the nearest relative of the father, preferably his brother. The relatives of the father who take part in the family council are in reality more influential than the maternal relatives. The participation of the latter [474] [596] remains occasional, for it is necessary that they belong to the same Tséligato as the paternal relatives, or that the respective Tséligatos of the two parties be neighbors.

/206 cont./

671 768 562 429 (602) However, in view of the fact that the woman is considered a minor in the Sarakatsani family, the problem of a "quasi-guardian" of the widow arises in a case where the children are also minors or if there are no children. The widow is then placed under the protection, economic as well as social, of the relatives of her husband and continues to be part of their family.

* * * *

671 A general idea of the law bearing on family matters having thus been established, we must now examine some particular aspects.

As one moves away from purely familial relationships to those of predominantly economic interests, one passes from rules of a strict nature to more permissive rules.

671 593 Everything that pertains to the moral aspect of the family assumes the form of strict law. (19)

19. This family law is simply the law defining the situation the condition (the "legal status" of jurists) of each member of the family and social group. Its rigid character derives thus from its nature and from the social function of the latter. See analogous concepts in: G. Davy: La foi jurée, p. 371.

Everything that pertains to the management and the utilization of wealth allows arrangements according to the wishes of the persons concerned. Though no deviation from what is prescribed is tolerated in a marriage arrangement, in the regulation of the members of the family or their hierarchy, /207/ the distribution of income or its hoarding, co-ownership or co-exploitation may assume whatever forms and modalities the parties decide upon.

671 593 428 The only exception has to do with inheritance, for a father never has the right to /arrange for/ the disposal of his goods after his death otherwise than as prescribed by custom. Wills are unknown. Now this

/208 cont./

474 675 671 initiative, which nonetheless develops in the context of Sarakatsani society and its cultural system.

The agents of ajudication, of sanction and coercion.

578 691 The elements of the problem: daily life and therefore all the questions relating to marriage, kinship and the functioning of the family, as well as the removal of the head, the checking of accounts of the family management and of the Tséligato, claims and quarrels between members and the Tséligas, the settling of various questions pertaining to guardianship, the division of an inheritance and so forth, create and represent numerous cases in which conflicts and litigations may arise.

578 627 692 691 Now all these questions must be solved one way or another. Though the agents of ajudication are multiple they are not always obvious. The same is true for the agents of sanction and coercion who are very often identical with the former.

In our effort to determine them we note first of all that the only official, hence visible tribunal that the Sarakatsani are acquainted with is that of arbiters.

[448] [179] Of course, an appeal to the official law of the surrounding society is always possible, but the Sarakatsani do not have recourse to it. (20)

20. This appeal would constitute a violation of the principle of isolation from the surrounding society, of which the Sarakatsani are very jealous.

691 692 627 [602] If the litigation concerns family questions and disagreements between members of the same family, the arbiters are recruited by the parties concerned from among the oldest relatives (uncles, for example).

[474] If the dispute is between strangers (members of the Tséligato and the head, for example), each of the parties proposes as arbiter one or two Tséligas.

The sentence, always binding and without appeal, from the viewpoint is formulated and pronounced according to what is good and fair to

/217 cont./

682 627 killed another from there; he was arrested and condemned by the assizes of Lamia to 12 years in prison. Everybody now knows that at the end of his sentence he will be killed by the kinsmen of his victim.

[628] [602] It is appropriate to recall here the rule according to which the vendetta is not practiced when the victim and the murderer are kinsmen.

682 627 628 182 /218/ Combining these facts, we may conclude that the vendetta is not viewed merely or strictly speaking as punishment of a crime. Otherwise the kinsmen of the victim cited in our second example would not be ready to kill the culprit who had already been condemned by the law. Moreover, once the culprit is executed, and justice has therefore been done, there would be no reason for retaliation by his kinsmen. It is thus obvious that the vendetta has another purpose. It is that of re-establishing the social equilibrium, temporarily upset by the murder.

602 682 627 628 182 In the course of our study of the functions of kinship we pointed out that the "others," the non-relatives, represent virtual enemies, that therefore the family must seek at all costs to strengthen itself by enlarging the circle of kinship. By depriving it of one of its members, the murderer diminishes the family of the victim, whereas that of the culprit becomes stronger. This implies that until the moment of the crime the respective family groups are considered equal, which is no longer the case after the crime. The family of the victim must then seek to neutralize the dangerous excess number of the opposing family by diminishing it in proportion. But then the latter in turn regards itself in a bad situation. And vengeance begins all over again.

602 682 627 581 182 These assertions are corroborated by the way in which the vendetta mentioned in our first example was terminated. The Tzoumanis family gave one of its members to the Koumbis family. This exchange of individuals, by means of marriage, reestablished the equilibrium, this time positively. They /these assertions/ are likewise corroborated by the prohibition of vengeance between relatives. The family, already weakened by a homicide, must not be further weakened by new murders. (33)

/218 cont./

33. The same idea is to be found in antiquity: G. Glotz: La solidarité, p. 47-48.

Thus, there is no contradiction between the vendetta and the prohibition of homicide. If the execution of the murderer is avenged in turn that is because another principle comes into play, that of safeguarding at all costs the moral and social integrity of the family. The necessity to abide by this principle is so over whelming that the prohibition of homicide yields to it in the end.

It is true that this arrangement is not the most fortunate. However, it reflects very well the relations between the individual and /219/ the group, or rather the individual and the family, the choice in the final analysis being in favor of the group.

Moreover, there is no reason to assume that the vendetta presupposes a collective responsibility of the family groups in case of homicide: first, because they usually seek to kill the murderer himself; second, if they kill instead one of his close relatives, which is not unusual, this is not because they consider him co-responsible, but in order to weaken the family. That is why, furthermore they then choose the best, the most distinguished, the strongest.

As to the application of the vendetta, there is no procedure provided to judge the affair and to pronounce a verdict. Custom, known beforehand by all, is followed.

Carrying out the vendetta is the responsibility chiefly of the young men of the family. The women are excluded from it both as victims and executers.

Sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

Sarakatsani society disapproves strongly of sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

A statement based on Sarakatsani ideology is very indicative in this respect. According to it, cases of this kind never occur among them, as

837 /219 cont./
181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
597 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

597 The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
837 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
684 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
627 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
602 punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

(171) Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds
(182) it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
(848) of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
597 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
(593) matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
(584)

(684) If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

(826) However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

/249 cont./

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Fig. 100

842 skirt, her bodice, her stockings and her knitted sleeves are bordered
53 with geometric motifs, the predominant one being the cross. The central motif, as well as the secondary motifs surrounding it are variations of the same symbol (see figures 84-87). A A The Sarakatsani call them indiscriminately "moons." These same "moons" are found on the wedding pastry
[262] [585] prepared for the wife, but this time in the shape of a four-petal rose of spirals or interlaced lines in relief (see figure 100). The study of this cake will be the subject of a special paragraph.

844 /250/ A second point to be emphasized concerns childbirth practices.
602 The mother-to-be, assisted by the women of the family (the men must absent themselves at this time), gets on her knees on the ground close to the hearth where a very bright fire is burning. When the child arrives the oldest of the assisting women puts her hand under the skirt of the mother (who does not undress) and receives the child. The placenta, when it has
[783] come out, is removed by the aunt on the father's side, or secondarily by the aunt on the mother's side, and after having been fumigated with incense, is buried behind the hut in a corner where neither men nor impure animals may walk.

A A /See p.119--Analyst/

/250 cont./

844 602 (114) animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes

3. Ibid., A.I. p. [illegible]. ---A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. (705) (262) And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 (789) 825 (128) Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

842 821 823 825 831 392 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortatlity; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

825 /282 cont./
789
(193) according to their collective memory. If this is true, these verses give us the origin of the practice and at the same time an explicit interpretation which corroborates our own. However, this type of protection against
(171) magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 263.

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali,
(114) vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice only protection against snake bites and "evils." The protection it provides against magic escapes her.

754 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer, can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are
754 Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always
186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.
754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

754 As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is
593 not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be
603 effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Neverthe-
754 less, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even
602

754 /282 cont./
602 though no family relationship binds them to their victim.
787 /283/ FORECASTING THE FUTURE.

This subject is linked, sometimes to natural phenomena, sometimes to the life of animals, sometimes to human influences.

The ideas that define the corresponding phenomena and that raise them to the level of portent are not always clear. There are cases where they remain in shadow. Phenomena and ideas are concretely presented as follows:

787 When a dog howls mournfully in the night death will strike a member
763 of the family. This animal whose occult capacities and mythological
825 relations with the underworld we are acquainted with scents the approach of Charon and laments the imminent disappearance of the men to whom he is bound.

If a crow flies vertically above a person, the life of the latter is in danger. This black bird personifying mourning and living on carcasses is presumed already to be interested in the person.

787 When a snake, an animal that knows the secrets of life and death, bars
825 the path of a passerby while heading "toward the sun," the east, hence the
823 cardinal point corresponding to life and favorable forces--it is a good portent. But if it heads towards the west, the darkness, (90) misfortune

90. It is well to recall here that a large number of European beliefs place the realm of the dead in a country to be found in the direction of the setting sun. The priests of Athens, seeking to incite the Furies against the "traitor" Alcibiades, pronounced their curses while turned toward the west: ΠΑΟΤΤΑΡΧΟΥ: 'Αλκιβιάδην.

22-32.--P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 38.

awaits the passerby.

787 If there are a couple of snakes who separate suddenly, taking
825 opposite directions, a married couple symbolized by the reptiles whose role
586

-/335 cont./

128 764 We shall divide the description of the funeral customs of the Sarkatsani in accordance with the different aspects of the layer in question.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

763 LAYING-OUT AND LAMENTING THE DECEASED.--MOURNING.

[602] At the moment of the death struggle only close relatives have the right to assist the dying one. The others withdraw in order to give him the opportunity to express his last wishes to those close to him. This is a matter between the family group and him alone.

764 When the dying one has breathed his last, the laying-out is begun. 593 If a young man is involved, his mother, his father, his brothers, his 604 cousins and his uncles undertake it. If it is a married man, his wife [605] is added to the persons just metioned. If the deceased is a young girl, it is her mother, her sisters, her father and her aunts who take part. If it is a married woman, her husband assists the other members of the family.

764 As we see, the choice of persons who have the right and the duty to 834 undertake the laying-out of the deceased, hence to see and touch the nude corpse, follows the rules which, while he is alive, permit or forbid close and intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex. Evidently, it /336/ is a rule based on "modesty," but which, in reality, is based on the rules of marriage and the functions of kinship that are familiar to us.

764 Unmarried persons are dressed in a wedding costume, for it is [589] shameful to die unmarried. Funerals then become a marriage with the earth! (12) Married individuals wear their best outfit.

[171] 12. This is an idea and a custom very widespread throughout Greece. Antigone, condemned by Creon, laments that she must die celibate.

/336 cont./

764 Next, a white velentza (blanket) is spread out in the center of the hut, the deceased placed upon it, his eyes are closed and his feet tied with a rope so that "he will not shift in his grave," actually so that he will not become a ghost! (13)

13. M. Eliade, in Images et Symboles, p. 146, footnote 57, says, citing Frazer: La crainte des morts, /The fear of the dead/ pp. 53-59, that it is always as defense against the spirits of the dead that corpses are tied up, although the significance of this custom is more complex.

With regard to his position on the ground we refer to what was said elsewhere (pp. 276-278). Then the attendants place themselves around him and [533] the women, without distinction of age, status of kinship, commence to [152] weep loudly and sing the mirolia (special songs, often improvised) while tearing their hair, beating their breasts and sometimes scratching their [602] cheeks. The next of kin must weep more than the others. The intensity and sadness of the lamentations are in inverse proportion to the age of the deceased.

765 The same is true of mourning. If the deceased was a young person, mourning lasts three to five years. If it was an old person, only one year. An old Sarakatsani woman told us that after the death of her elderly husband she did not replace the red blankets which were part of the decor of her hut with black blankets, for her companion had lived his life and she had her children.

[822] Black is the color of mourning. The women no longer wear embroidered [602] garments, the men put on black shirts and let their beards grow. The [291] mother of the deceased and the widow wear mourning for life, the first [178] because "a mother is never consoled for the loss of her child," the second because "she must be in mourning forever for her spouse."

/339 cont./

PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents. This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the

764
795 /339 cont./
797 postulate of representation.
[602] Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
795 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
797 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
784
823 16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

795 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
[262] forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of
[602] causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
[261] and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
[785] fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
[533] chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
[795] world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

/379 cont./

182 596 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are 182 596 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception: it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And 474 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 581 582 602 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group, to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 602 562 [596] Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 621 602 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the vendetta.

[571] [471] [434] [454] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.

182 596 562 438 583 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not even have the right to a dowry.

/381 cont./

182 602 571 594 554 [613] The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families, small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 594 181 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special

182 361 233 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space).

182 462 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it, likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the

182 291 261 181 way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity), resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality - frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

/388 cont./

182 its cultural and ethnic character. The family, moreover, proves to be
596 a necessary condition for herding and business related to the livestock.
[233] In order that the latter be profitable it must be practiced on a large
[464] scale. It therefore requires considerable labor power that only the
extended family is in a position to supply, in view of isolation and
[233] consequently the lack of paid labor. If the extended family makes
herding possible, the latter gives the extended family the means to
provide for the needs of its numerous members.

182 However, all this does not explain why the family tie, that is
602 to say kinship, determines the solutions mentioned. If the latter
demand the presence of a certain number of individuals, would not a
simple association suffice? Let us refer anew to what has already been
said. Living isolated and in the mountain wilderness involves the necessity
of struggling against hostile nature, wild animals, bandits and resistance
fighters /maquisards/ against a surrounding society definitely unfavorable,
ultimately against the conqueror or the occupier. This struggle cannot
be carried on effectively unless one is certain of the absolute help of
the others, a certainty that the simple contractual or associative bond is
not in a position to create. On the other hand, the tie of kinship, with
the values it comprises, favors a solidarity without reservation,
extending even to self-sacrifice. The consequences make themselves felt
[233] in all aspects of family life, as we shall see presently. Let us add
that even /389/ the care of the livestock is favored by kinship. But we
shall come back to that.

182 With regard to the preponderance of men over women, it is explained
662 by the same motives. It seems natural that the strong sex should
predominate over the weak sex in an environment where it is necessary to
defend oneself constantly and to show great endurance, since the daily
work is carried out in steep regions and makes it necessary to endure
the worst weather.